

MAHATMA GANDHI

PICTORIAL HISTORY OF A GREAT LIFE

महात्मा गांधी

एक महापुरुष के जीवन का चित्रमय इतिहास

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In token of my remembrance
to Charles and our pleasant
evening, with best wishes
from penelope
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महात्मा गांधी श्रेष्ठतम् जीवन का चित्रमय इतिहास

संकलन कर्ता, सम्पादक तथा प्रकाशक

जान बारस

द्वितीय परिवर्द्धित संस्करण



१९४९

मुद्रक :—

गोसाईं ऐण्ड कम्पनी

नं० १, शार्ट स्ट्रीट, कलकत्ता ।

MAHATMA GANDHI

PICTORIAL HISTORY OF A GREAT LIFE

COLLECTED, COMPILED, EDITED AND
PUBLISHED BY

JAN BAROŠ^V

SECOND ENLARGED EDITION



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First Edition published on the occasion of First Anniversary of

INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA

15th August, 1948.

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SAD DEMISE OF MAHATMA GANDHI

30th January, 1949.

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वार्षिकोत्सव पर—१५ अगस्त सन् १९४८

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*All the profit from this publication will go to
the Mahatma Gandhi National Memorial Fund.*

पुस्तक का समस्त लाभ महात्मा गांधी राष्ट्रीय-स्मारक-कोष
को प्रदान किया जायगा

I am taking the liberty to present you this book as an effort to preserve for you and for posterity the vivid picture of one of the greatest men who ever walked on this our earth—Mahatma Gandhi—his whole life, his efforts and his martyr's death.

As one of the handful of Czechoslovakians, who have been privileged to live on the soil of India, for years I witnessed that immense thunderstorm through which the Indian Nation struggled on its way to self-determination; for years I saw, heard and read Mahatma Gandhi, watched his deeds and efforts, and tried to understand his way of thinking and preaching. Only once I met him in 1938, at the time when he wrote "If I were a Czech," an advice to my homeland. Very often I have listened to him, whether he spoke to me through the microphone or through the printed columns, but alas, I did not understand him then, did not comprehend the depth of his philosophy or the full meaning of his words and deeds. It was too late when I became responsive.

I feel it to be the bounden duty of us, who were fortunate to see him and to live in his time, to preserve his spiritual legacy for our children and for all that would come after us, as a source of inspiration which makes the world—the people constantly better and brings them nearer to God. It is true that his writings, speeches and works are being well preserved by his close associates and followers. My task is to preserve in their original charm the pictures—photographs—of Mahatma Gandhi, which, owing to their realism, will help to reveal him to us better. The pictures collected here show his life from the very beginning until the holy waters of Indian rivers received his last earthly remains, his great yet simple life, his charm and silvery laughter and his many sided brilliance.

When I took up this work, it seemed a stupendous task and beset with insurmountable difficulties. But when I sent my plan to the close associates of the Mahatma, to photopress agencies, daily newspapers and hundreds of individuals who were in one way or other connected with Mahatma Gandhi, I received from all of them most enthusiastic and spontaneous support, approval and co-operation. The result is this book, which you are holding in your hands.

The first Edition was published on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Independence of India. This, the second Edition, is being published on the occasion of the first anniversary of the sad demise of the Mahatma.

I should here like to make it clear that this publication has not been brought out on motives of personal gain. It is to honour the memory of Mahatma Gandhi, who will live and whose influence upon us all will grow so long as the Indian Nation lives; and it is to help the poorest of the poor, for whose material and spiritual uplift Mahatma Gandhi worked throughout his whole life.

JAN BAROS,
Batanagar,
24 Parganas,
West Bengal.

प्रस्तावना

महात्मा गान्धी विश्व के उन मूर्धन्य महापुरुषों में थे जिनसे दिव्यतर आत्माएँ अबतक इस धराधाम पर अवतरित नहीं हुईं। यह पुस्तक महात्मा के सम्पूर्ण जीवन उनके पुण्य-चरित और उनकी स्वधर्म पालनाएँ आत्मवलि की जीती-जागती तस्वीर और आनेवाला पीढ़ियों के लिए सुरक्षित कर देने की इस अनधिकार चेष्टा के रूप में आपको भेंट की जा रही।

मैं उन थोड़े से भाग्यशाली चेकोंमें से हूँ जिन्हें भारत की पुण्यभूमि पर बसने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त है। मैं बरसों उस प्रचण्ड तूफान को देखता रहा हूँ जिससे होकर भारतीय राष्ट्र ने अपनी आज़ादी की मंजिल तय की। बरसों मैं दूरसे महात्मा जी के दर्शन करता, उनके भाषण सुनता और उनके लेख पढ़ता रहा, उनके कार्यों और प्रयत्नों को देखता और उनकी चिन्तन-प्रणाली और उनके उपदेशों को समझने की कोशिश करता रहा। निकट से उनके दर्शन का सौभाग्य एक ही बार १९३८ के आखिर में प्राप्त हुआ, जब उन्होंने 'अगर मैं' चेक होता शीर्षक लेख लिखकर मेरे देशवासियों को अहिंसा का अस्त्र अपनाने की सलाह दी थी। मैंने बहुत बार उनके लेख पढ़े और भाषण सुने। पर अफसोस, उस वक्त मैं उन्हें समझ नहीं सका, मैं उनके विचारों की गहराई या उनके वचनों और कर्मों को पूरा समझ न पाता था। जब समझने और दिल पर उनका असर लेने लगा तब बहुत देर हो चुकी थी।

मैं सोचता हूँ कि हमलोगों पर, जिन्हें उनके कार्यों को देखने और उनके समय में जीनेका सौभाग्य प्राप्त था, यह फ़र्ज़ है कि उनकी आध्यात्मिक विरासत को अपने बच्चों और हमारे बाद आनेवाली पीढ़ियों के लिए सुरक्षित कर दें। यह विरासत ऐसी प्रेरणा का स्रोत है जो दुनिया और दुनिया वालों को सदा अधिकाधिक भला बनाती और ईश्वर के पास पहुंचाती जायगी। यह सही है कि महात्मा जी के निरुद्धतम साथी और अनुयायी उनके लेखों, भाषणों और कार्यावली की रक्षा का समुचित यत्न कर रहे हैं। अतः मेरा काम केवल महात्मा जी के चित्रों, फोटोग्राफों को, उनके मूलसौन्दर्य और आकर्षण के साथ, सुरक्षित कर देना है। ये चित्र काल्पनिक नहीं असली हैं, इसलिए महात्मा जी के लोकोत्तर व्यक्तित्व को लेखों और भाषणों की अपेक्षा अधिक अच्छी तरह व्यक्त कर सकेंगे। प्रस्तुत पुस्तक में संगृहीत चित्र बचपन से लगा कर भारत की महा नदियों में उनके पार्थिव अवशेष उनके फूल के प्रवाहित किये जाने तक उनका सारा जीवन, उनका महान् किन्तु सरल जीवन क्रम उनके चेहरे का दिव्य तेज, उनका उज्ज्वल, 'सिन्धु हास' और उनकी बहुमुखी प्रतिभा सबके दर्शन हमें करा देते हैं।

मैं यहां यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि इस पुस्तक के प्रकाशन का अभिप्राय पैसा कमाना नहीं है। इसका उद्देश्य है महात्मा जी की पुण्यस्मृति का सम्मान करना। महात्मा जी अमर हैं और जबतक भारत राष्ट्र जीवित है हमारे जीवन पर उनका प्रभाव दिन-दिन बढ़ता जायगा। इस प्रकाशन का दूसरा उद्देश्य दरिद्र नारायण की सेवा है जिनकी भौतिक और आध्यात्मिक उन्नति का यत्न करना महात्मा जी के जीवन का एक व्रत था।

जान बारस



2.10.1869.
२-१०-१८६९

mt Gandhi

30.1.1948.
३०-१-१९४८

“ I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, try the following expedient. Recall the face of the poorest and the most helpless man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to HIM. Will he be able to gain anything by it? Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj or self-rule for the hungry and also spiritually starved millions of our countrymen?

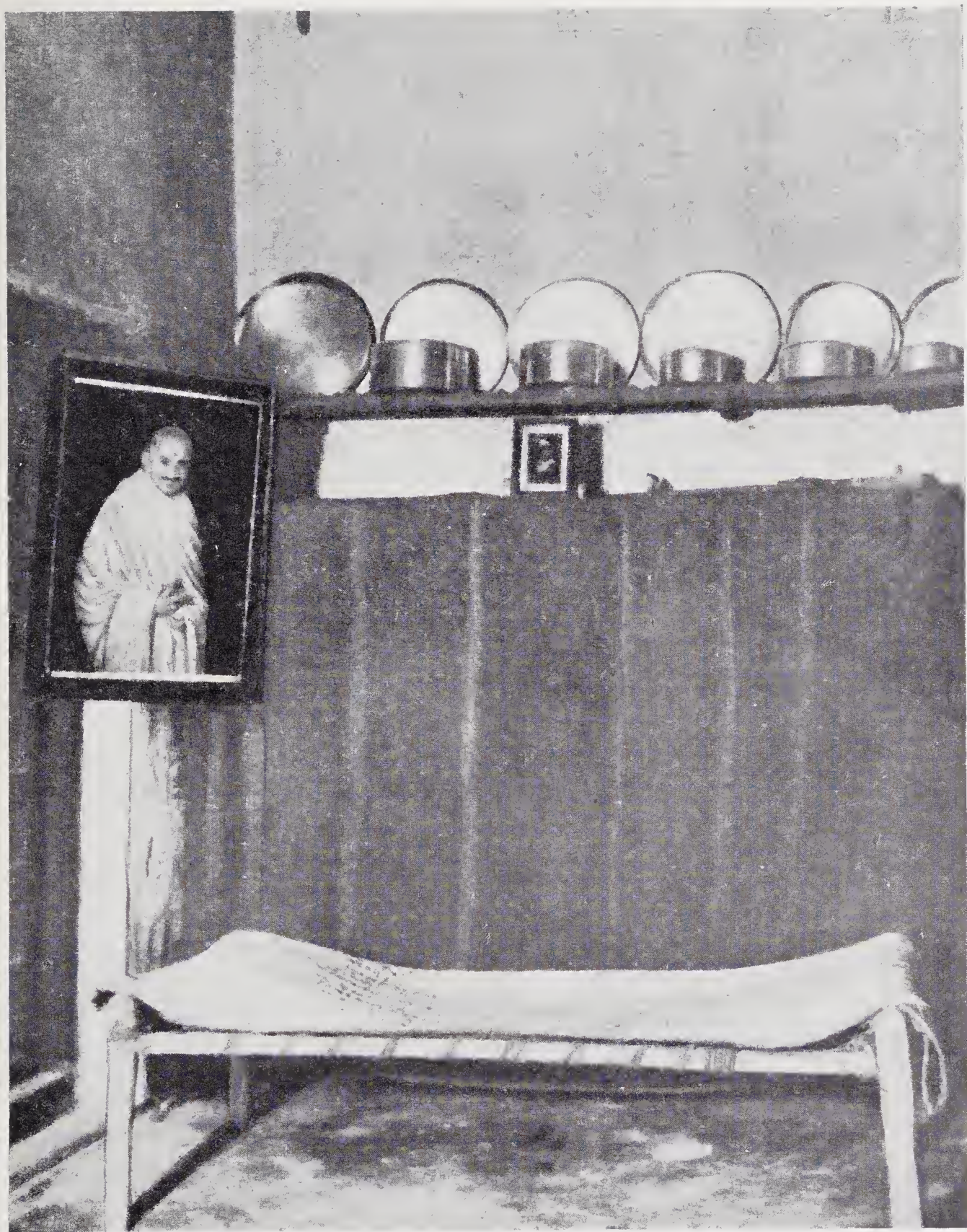
Then you will find your doubts and your self melting away.”

म. क. सा. की

मैं आपको एक यन्त्र या तावीज़ दूंगा। जब कभी आप सन्देह में पड़ें अथवा स्वकीय भावना से अभिभूत हों, आप निम्नलिखित उपाय से काम लें। उस समय आप उस हीनातिहीन एवं असहाय व्यक्ति के मंह का ध्यान करें जिसे आपने कभी देखा हो। फिर स्वयं अपनी आत्मा से पूछें कि आपने जो कदम उठाया है, वह उसके लिये किसी काम का होगा क्या? क्या इससे उसे कुछ लाभ हो सकेगा? क्या यह उसे, अपने जीवन व भाग्य पर पुनः नियंत्रण करने योग्य बनायेगा? क्या इससे हमारे देश के लाखों भूखों और अध्यात्म वुभुक्षितों की ज्वाला शान्त हो सकेगी?

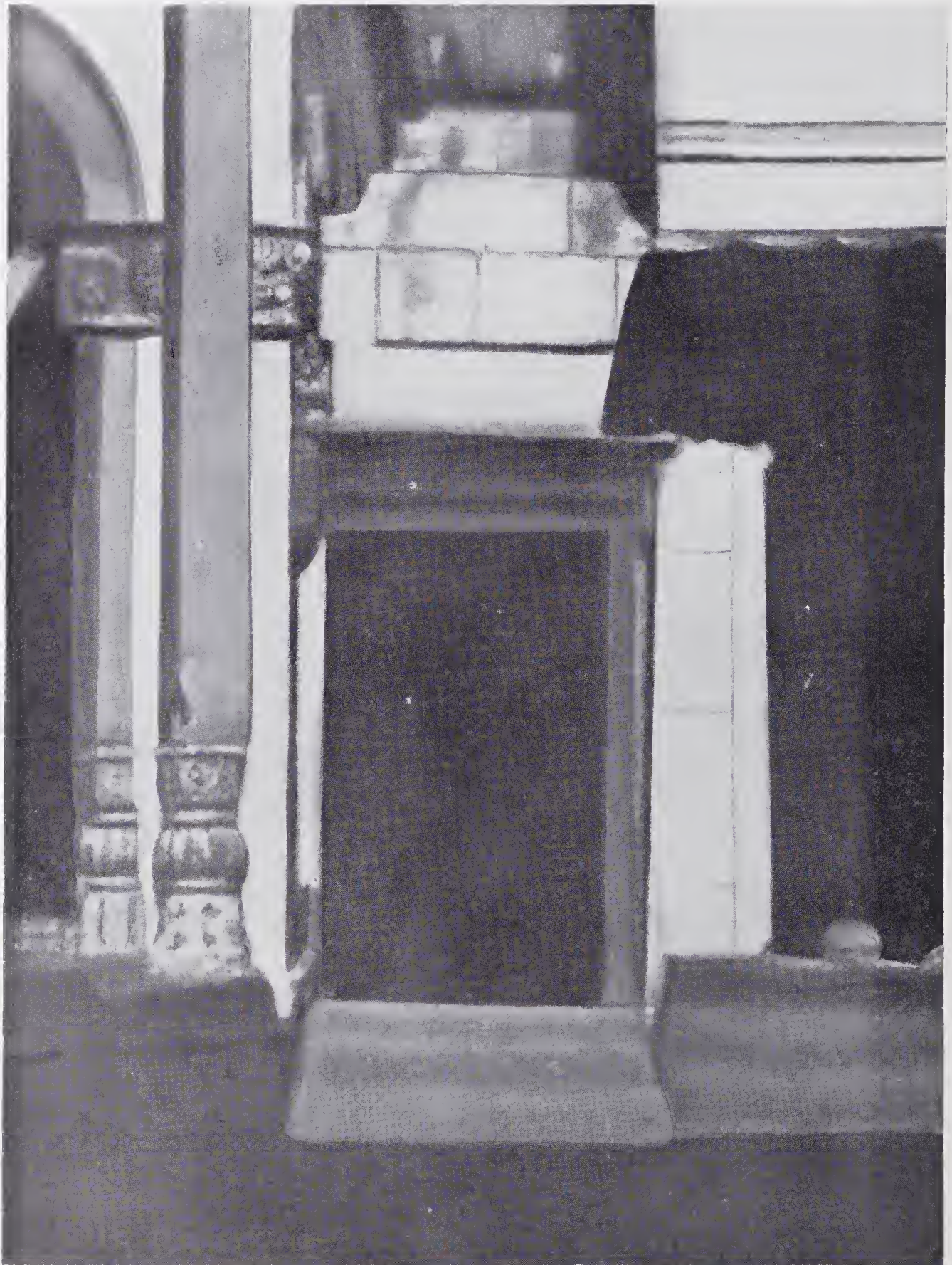
उस समय आप देखेंगे, कि आप विगत सन्देह हो गये हैं और आपका अहंभाव नष्ट होने लगा है।

म. क. सा. की



2. In this little room of a house at Porbandar, Kathiawad, Mahatma Gandhi was born on 2nd October, 1869.

काठियावाड़ अन्तर्गत पोर बन्दर के इसो कोठरी में महात्मा गान्धी का जन्म २ अक्टूबर १८६९ को हुआ था ।



3.

The house in which Mahatma Gandhi was born.
वह मकान जिसमें २ अक्टूबर सन् १८६९ को महात्माजी का जन्म हुआ था ।



4. Mahatma Gandhi as a pupil of the Rajkot Primary school, in the year 1877.
महात्मा गाँधी, सन् १८७७ में राजकोट प्राइमरी स्कूल के छात्र के रूप में।

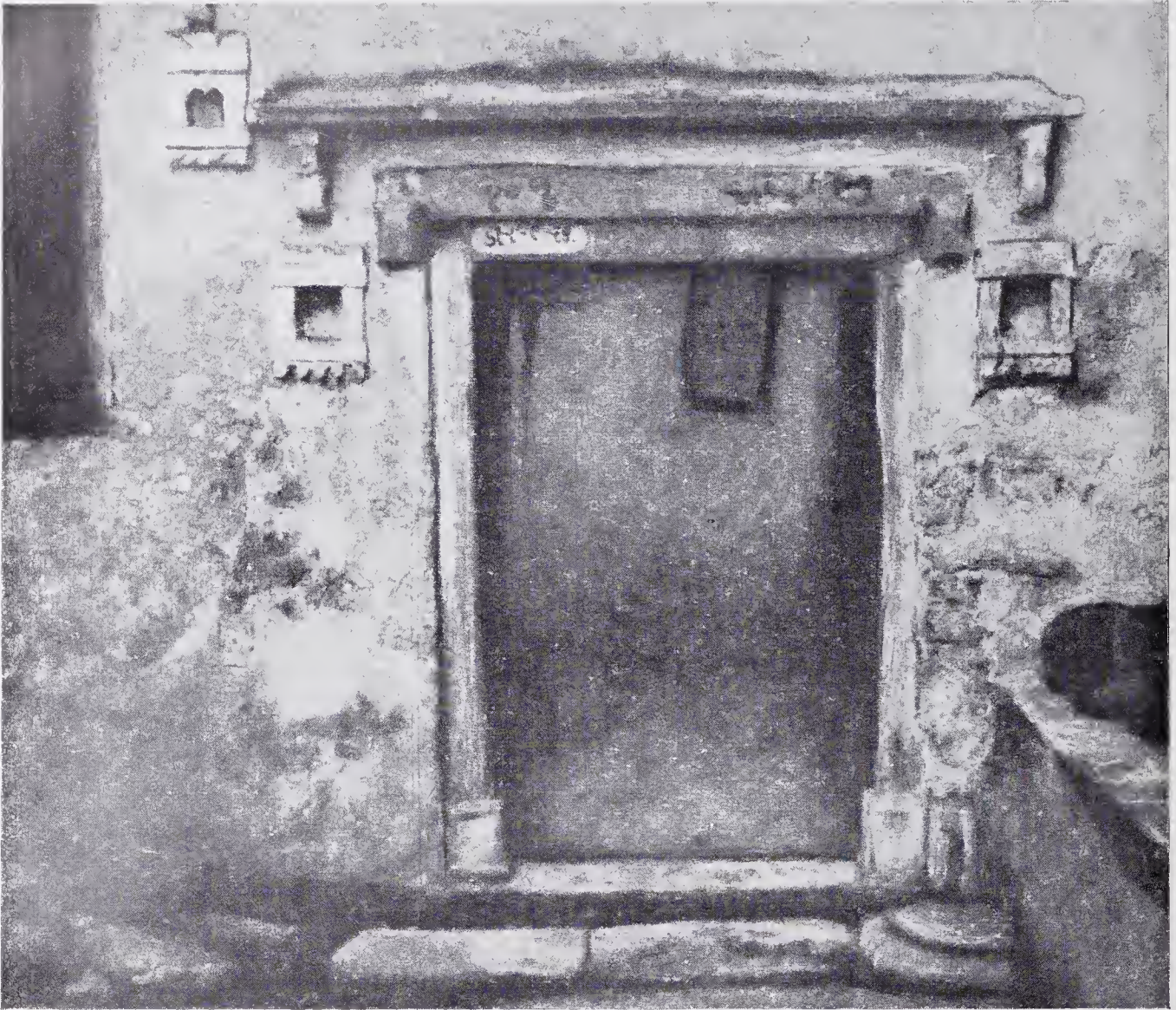


5. The narrow alley leading to the house of the Gandhi family, where the earliest years of the Mahatma's life were spent.

गांधी परिवार के निवास स्थान को तरफ जाने वाली गली । वहीं पर महात्माजी का प्रारम्भिक जीवन व्यतीत हुआ ।



6. As student of Kathiawad High School, Rajkot, at the age of 14 years.
१४ वर्ष की आयु में काठियावाड़ हाई स्कूल के छात्र ।



7. Another picture of the house, in which Mahatma Gandhi first saw the light of day.
The door leads to the courtyard, in which, in 1883, he was married to Kasturba.

इसी मकान में सर्व प्रथम महात्मा गान्धी ने प्रकाश पाया था ।

यह दरवाजा उस आंगन का है जिसमें कस्तूरबा का विवाहोत्सव १८८३ में मनाया गया था ।

When I was a little child, there used to be two blind performers in Rajkot. One of them was a musician. When he played on his instrument, his fingers swept the strings with an unerring instinct and everybody listened spell-bound to his playing.

Similarly there are chords in every human heart. If we only know how to strike the right chord, we bring out the music.

जब मैं एक छोटा बच्चा था उस समय राजकोट में दो अन्धे कलाकार थे। उनमें एक संज्ञितज्ञ वाला था। जब वह अपना वाजा बजाने लगता, उसकी अंगुलियां इस स्वाभाविक गति से तारोंपर चलती थीं कि हर एक आदमी मन्त्र मुग्ध हो जाता था। उसी तरह प्रत्येक मनुष्य के हृदय में वैसी ही तन्त्री है। यदि हम केवल उसे ठीक तरह छेड़ना जान लें तो हम भी वैसाही सुर निकाल सकते हैं



8. In Rajkot High School, in the year 1883.

सन् १८८३ में राजकोट हाईस्कूल में (बाएसे)



9.

Karamchand Uttamchand Gandhi, the Mahatma's father.

Inscription by Mahatma Gandhi: "His son at his feet, Mohandas."

महात्माजी के पूज्य पिता कर्मचन्द उत्तमचन्द गांधी ।



10.

In his last year at the Rajkot High School, in 1886.
सन् १८८६ में, राजकोट हाई स्कूल के अन्तिम वर्ष में । (दाहिने तरफ)



II.

Laxmidas Karamchand Gandhi, Mahatma's eldest brother.

महात्माजी के बड़े भाई लक्ष्मीदास कर्मचन्द गांधी ।



12.

At the age of 21 in London.

२१ वर्ष की आयु में लन्दन में ।



13.

Faiva, a sister of Mahatma Gandhi, who outlived him.

महात्मा गांधी की बहन, श्रीमती फाइवा, जो अभी जीवित हैं।



14.

As student in England in 1891.

अंग्रेट्रिटेन में एक विद्यार्थी के रूप में ।



15.

As a member of the Vegetarian Society, London, 1890.

१८९० में लन्दन के निरामिष-समाज के सदस्य गांधी ।



16.

With Gokhale in South Africa.

दक्षिण अफ्रिका में गोखले के साथ ।



17.

Barrister in South Africa in the year 1893.

१८९३ में दक्षिणी अफ्रिका में बैरिस्टर गांधी :



18.

With the Indian Ambulance Corps during the Boer war, 1899.

१८९९ के बोअर युद्ध में भारतीय एम्बुलेन्स कोर के साथ ।



19.

As leader of the Indian Ambulance Corps at the time of the Zulu rebellion in 1906.

१९०६ की जूल क्रान्ति में भारतीय एम्बुलेन्स कोर के नेता के रूप में ।



20. In South Africa around the year 1900.

सन् १९०० के लगभग दक्षिणी अफ्रिका में ।



21.

In front of his office at Johannesburg in the year 1905.

सन् १९०५ में जोहान्सबर्ग के अपने कार्यालय के सामने।



22.

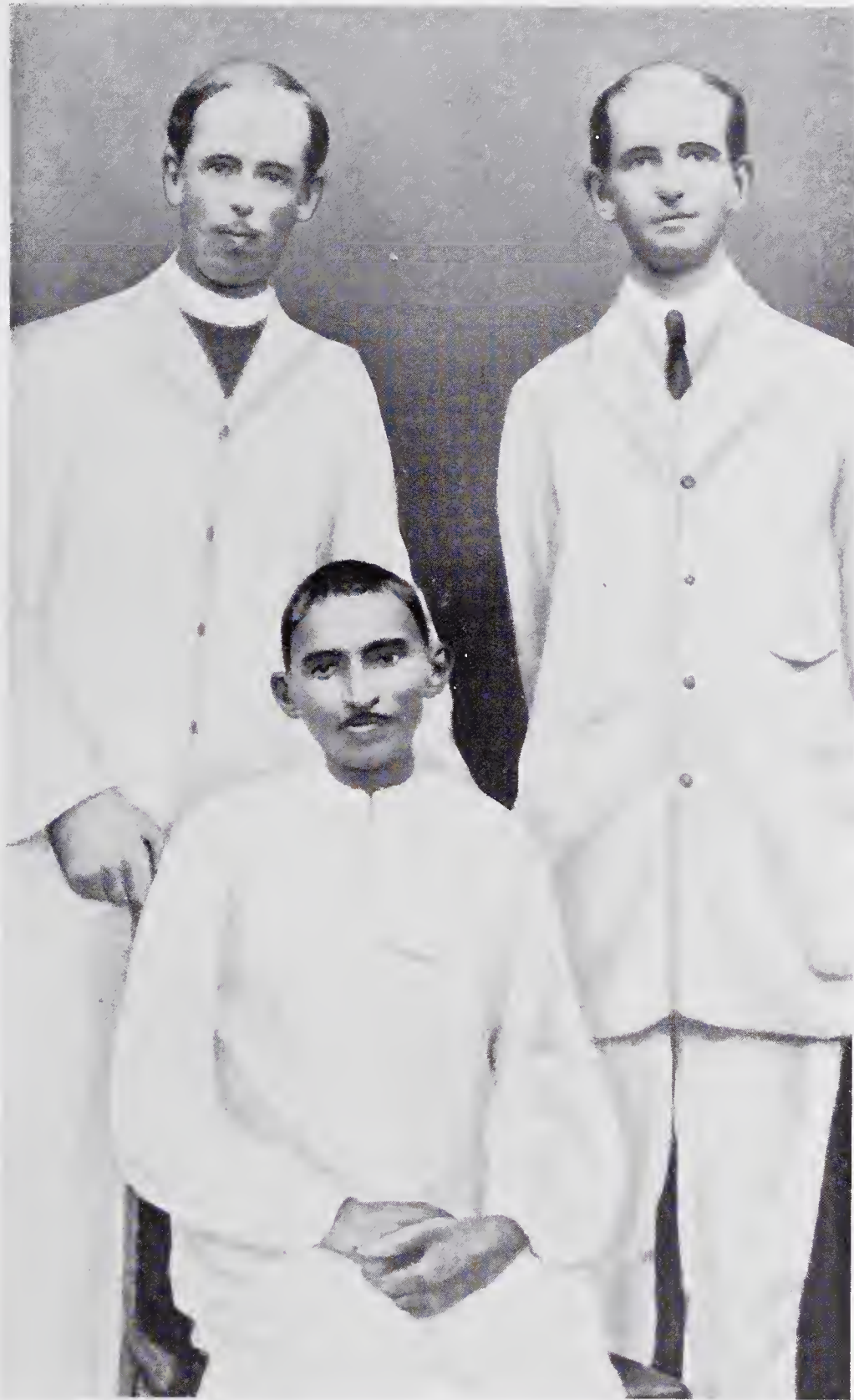
In South Africa with his Boer friend Kallenbach, and a secretary in 1913.

सन् १९१३ में, अपने बोअर मित्र कालेनबाच तथा अपने सेक्रेटरी के साथ दक्षिणी अफ्रीका में।



23. As Captain of the Indian Ambulance Corps during the Zulu Rebellion
in South Africa in 1906.

दक्षिण अफ्रीका में १९०६ में जूलू विद्रोह के समय इण्डियन एम्बुलेंस कोर के कप्तान के रूप में गांधी ।



24. With Rev. C. F. Andrews and Mr. Pearson in South Africa
in the year 1911.
सन् १९११ में दीनबन्धु एण्डरूज तथा मिस्टर पियर्सन के साथ दक्षिण अफ्रीका में ।



25.

Leading Satyagraha in South Africa in the year 1913.

दक्षिण अफ्रीका में सत्याग्रह का नेतृत्व करते हुए सन् १९१३ में।



26. Pioneer Settlers of Tolstoy Farm near Johannesburg. The Mahatma is seated fifth from the right.
जोहान्सबर्ग के निकट स्थित टाल्सटाय आश्रम के आदि आश्रमवासी । महात्माजी दाहिने से पंचम स्थान पर बैठे हैं ।



27. Addressing a mass meeting at Durban.
डरबन में महात्मा गांधी सार्वजनिक सभा में भाषण कर रहे हैं ।



28. Mahatma (left) conversing with H. Kallenbach, G. Isaac and Mrs. Pollak at Maritzburg Station on December 22nd, 1913, after his release from prison.

जेल से छूटने के बाद २२ दिसम्बर १९१३ को स्टेशन पर महात्माजी (बायीं ओर)



29. The pioneer party during the last phase of the South African struggle. Mahatma is sitting second from the left.

दक्षिण अफ्रीका में सत्याग्रह के अन्तिम काल में नेतृवर्ग । महात्माजी बांये से दूसरे स्थान पर बैठे हैं ।



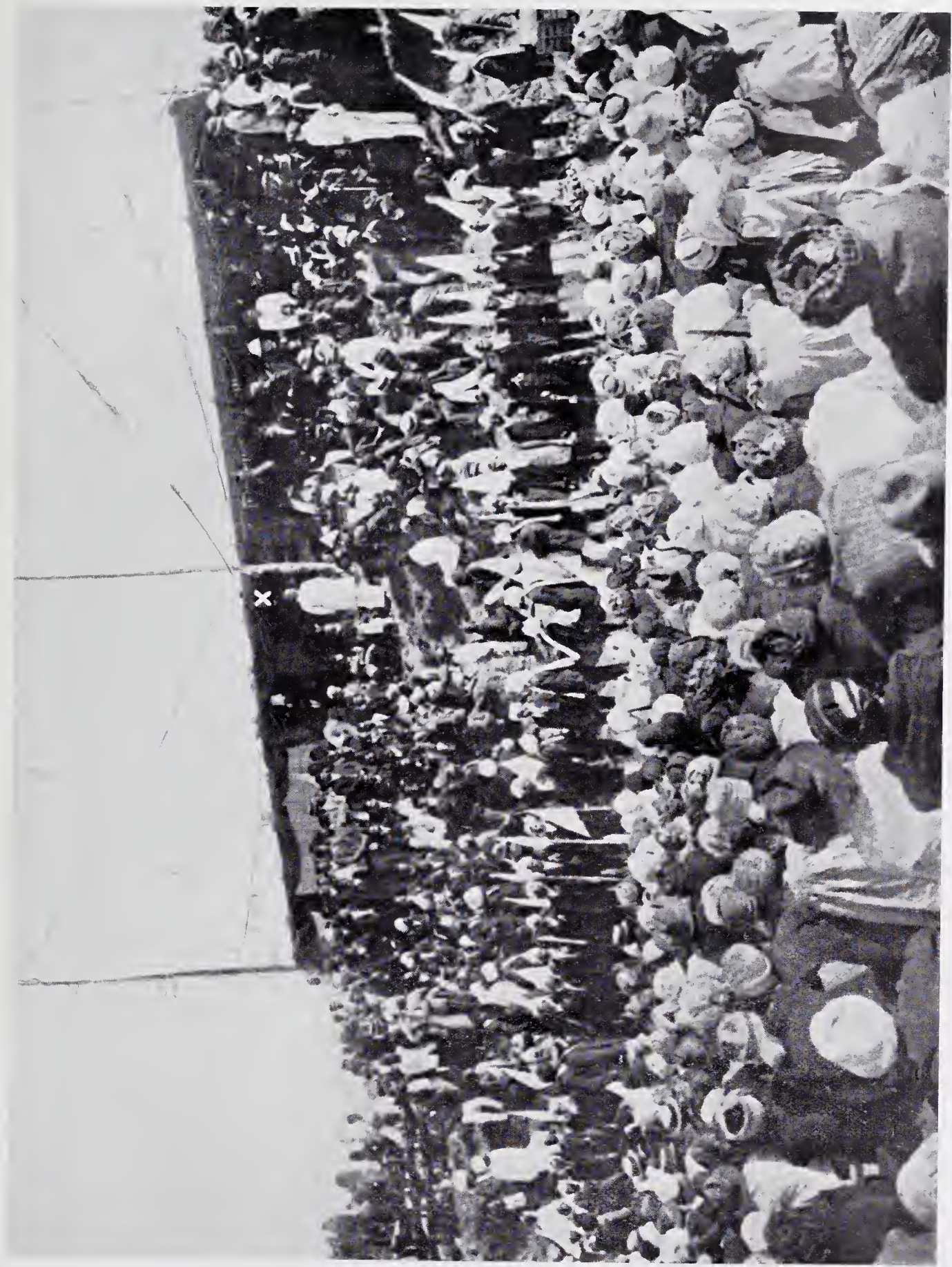
30. Amongst the leaders of the Wellington Indian Community on departure for England.
 वेलिंगटन की भारतीय जनता के नेताओं के मध्य में इंग्लैण्ड जाने के समय



31. The last photograph of the Mahatma in Durban, with his wife and several friends.
 डरबन में मित्रों के साथ महात्माजी का सपत्निक सर्वोत्तम चित्र ।



32. Mahatma (marked with a cross) at the unveiling of the Valiamina Memorial at Johannesburg, on 15th July 1914.
 जोहांसवर्ग में वालियामिना स्मार के १५ जुलाई १९१४ को उद्घाटन के अवसर पर लिया गया चित्र (चिन्हित महात्माजी)



Addressing the Verulam Farewell Meeting in 1914.
 १९१४ में मेरुलम में बिदाई सभा में भाषण देते हुए।



34.

A fine portrait of the Mahatma with a friend during the last month of his stay in South Africa in 1914.

सन् १९१४ में दक्षिणी अफ्रीका में अन्तिम दिनों में यह उत्तम चित्र एक मित्रके साथ ।

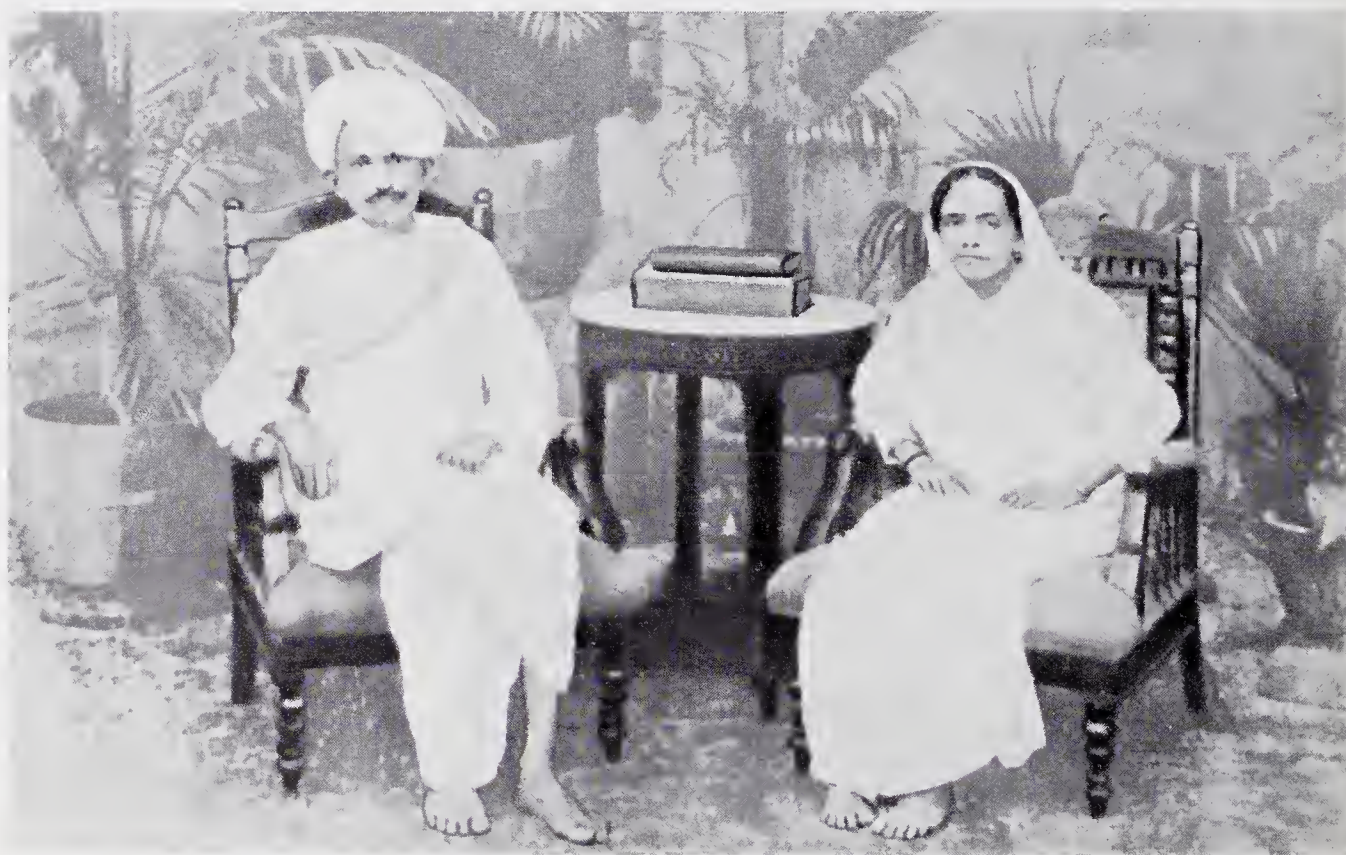


35. With his wife in London in 1914.

सन् १९१४ में अपनी पत्नी के साथ लन्दन में ।



36. When war broke out in 1914, he went to England to organise Indians overseas in the Ambulance units.
 १९१४ में जब युद्ध छिड़ा तो विदेशी भारतीयों का एम्बुलेन्स यूनिट संगठित करने लन्दन गये।



37. In Madras, while touring India in 1915.
 सन् १९१५ में भारत भ्रमण के समय अपनी पत्नी के साथ मद्रास में।



38.

With Kasturba after his return from London in January 1915.

सन १९१५ में लन्दन से वापस आने पर कस्तूरबा के साथ ।



39.

In India in the year 1916.

जनवरी १९१६ में दक्षिणी अफ्रीका से भारत आने पर।



40.

Conferring with villagers while touring India in 1916.
१९४६ में भारत भ्रमण के समय गांव वालों से बातचीत ।



41.

Fasting at Ahmedabad in February 1918.
१९१८ में अहमदाबाद में उपवास ।



42. With Maulana Shaukat Ali at the time of Khilafat movement in 1919.
१९१९ में खिलाफत आन्दोलन के समय शौकत अली के साथ ।



43.

With Mrs. Annie Besant and Srinivasa Sastri in 1921.
१९२१ में श्रीमती एनीबेसेन्ट एवं श्रीनिवास शास्त्री के साथ ।



44.

Opening a Khadi shop in Bombay, 1921.
बम्बई के एक खादी भंडार का १९२२ में उद्घाटन करते हुए



45. At an annual Congress Session reviewing a parade of Volunteers at Ahmedabad in 1921.

With him are Smti. Sarojini Naidu and other Congress leaders.

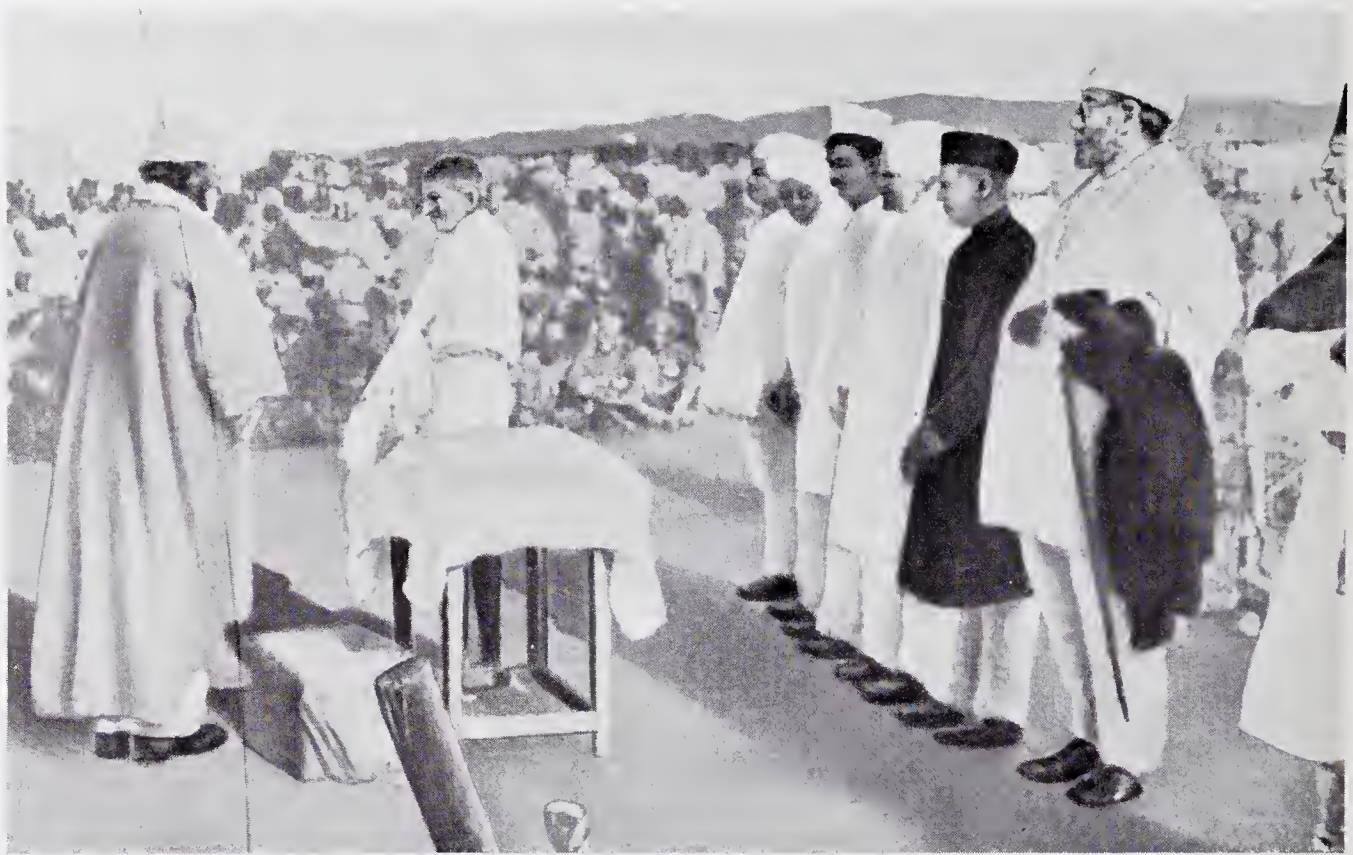
१९२२ में श्रीमती सरोजिनो नाएडू तथा अन्य कांग्रेस कर्मियों के साथ प्रयाग में कांग्रेस स्वयंसेवकों के परेड का निरीक्षण करते हुए महात्मा जी उसी समय की कांग्रेस पताका द्रष्टव्य है ।



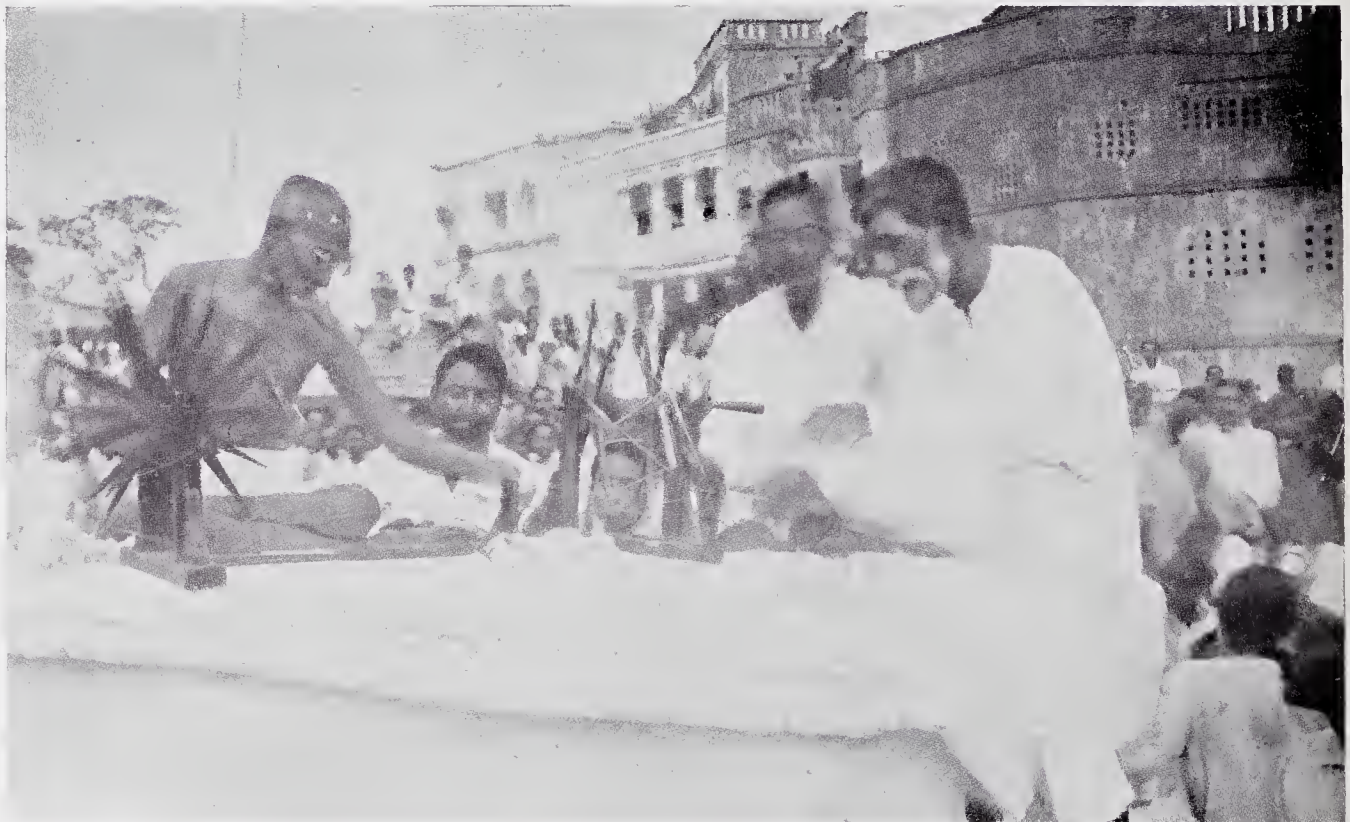
46. With Abbas Tyabjee during the time of Satyagraha campaign.
सत्याग्रह युद्ध के दौरान में अब्बास तय्यबजी के साथ ।



47. After his arrest in March 1922 his goats are being taken into the jail to provide him with milk.
१९२२ में गिरफ्तार होने के बाद, गांधीजी की बकरियां दूध के लिये जेल में लायी जा रही हैं ।



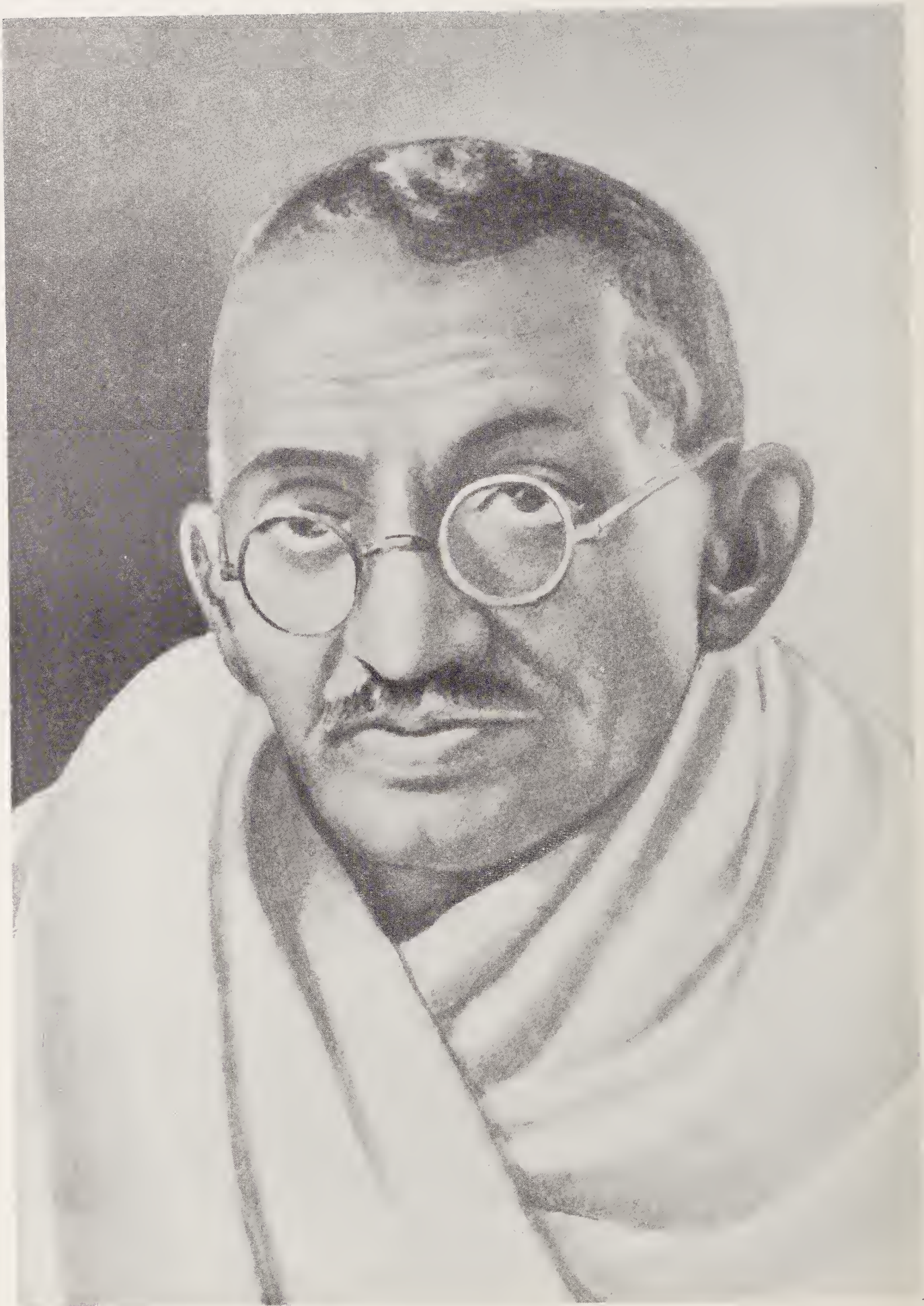
48. Elected President of the Indian National Congress at Belgaum in 1924.
 १९२४ के वेलगांव कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष निर्वाचित ।



49. Spinning with Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray in Calcutta in 1924.
 १९२४ में आचार्य प्रफुल्ल चन्द्र के साथ चरखा कातते समय



50. Emaciated after a twenty-one day fast for Hindu-Muslim Unity in September 1924.
१९२४ में हिन्दू-मुसलिम एकता के लिये २१ दिन के उपवास के बाद यह चित्र मुहम्मद अली
के मकान में १२ सितम्बर १९२४ में लिया गया था।



51.

Portrait from the year 1925 (aged 56).
१९२५ में ५६ वर्ष की आयुका एक तैल चित्र ।



52.

Children of all creeds and races adored Mahatma for his natural charm.

The girl in this picture took off her shoes to walk with him.

सभी धर्मों तथा जातियों के बच्चे महात्मा के स्वाभाविक आकर्षण से प्रभावित होते थे ।

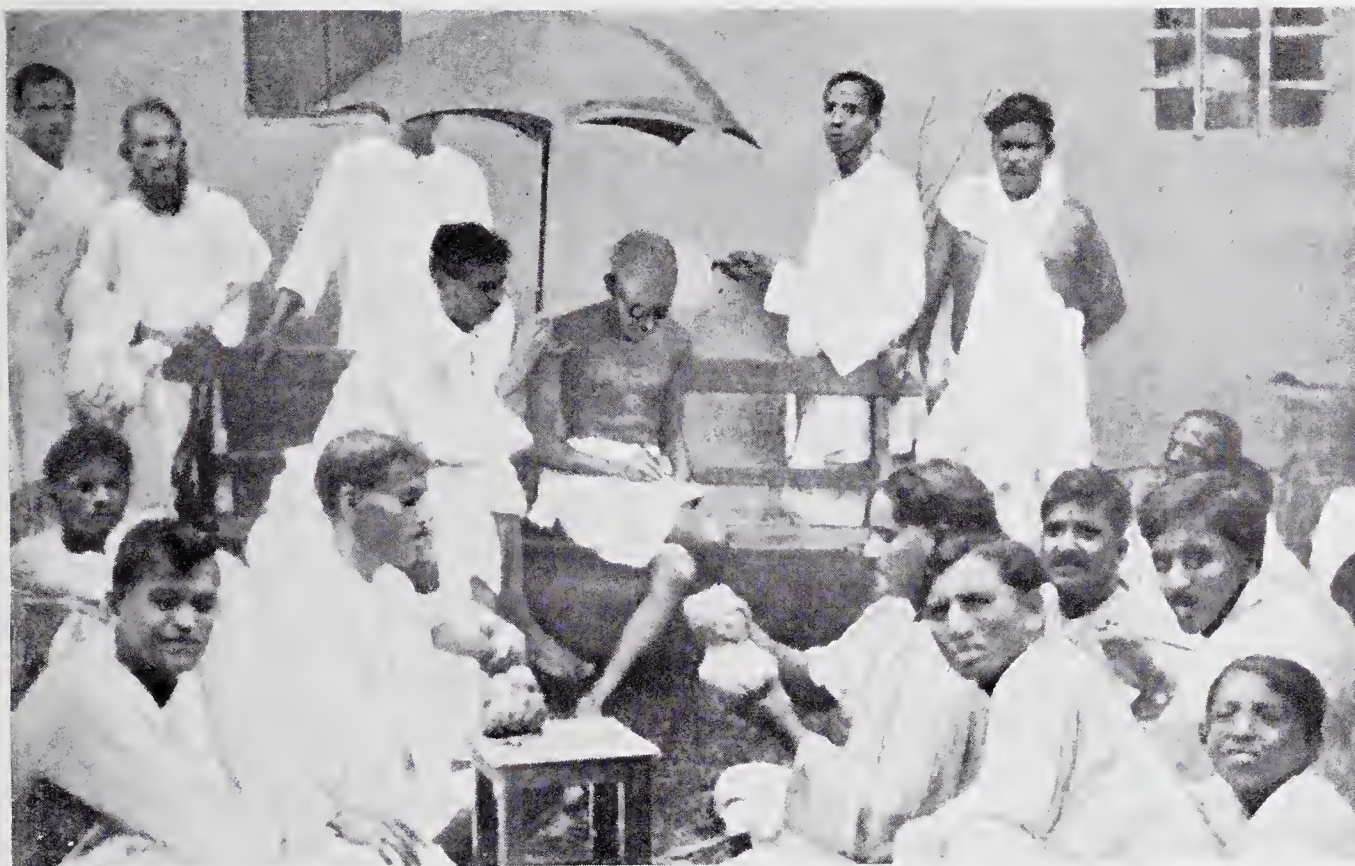
उनके साथ टहलने के लिए एक बच्ची ने अपने जूते निकाल दिये ।



53.

Probably the only photograph of Mahatma Gandhi with Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das,
when they met at Darjeeling in June 1925

महात्मा गान्धी का देशबन्धु चित्तरञ्जन दास के साथ की यह सम्भवतः एक मात्र चित्र है जब गान्धीजी १९२५ में देशबन्धु से दार्जीलिंग में मिले थे ।

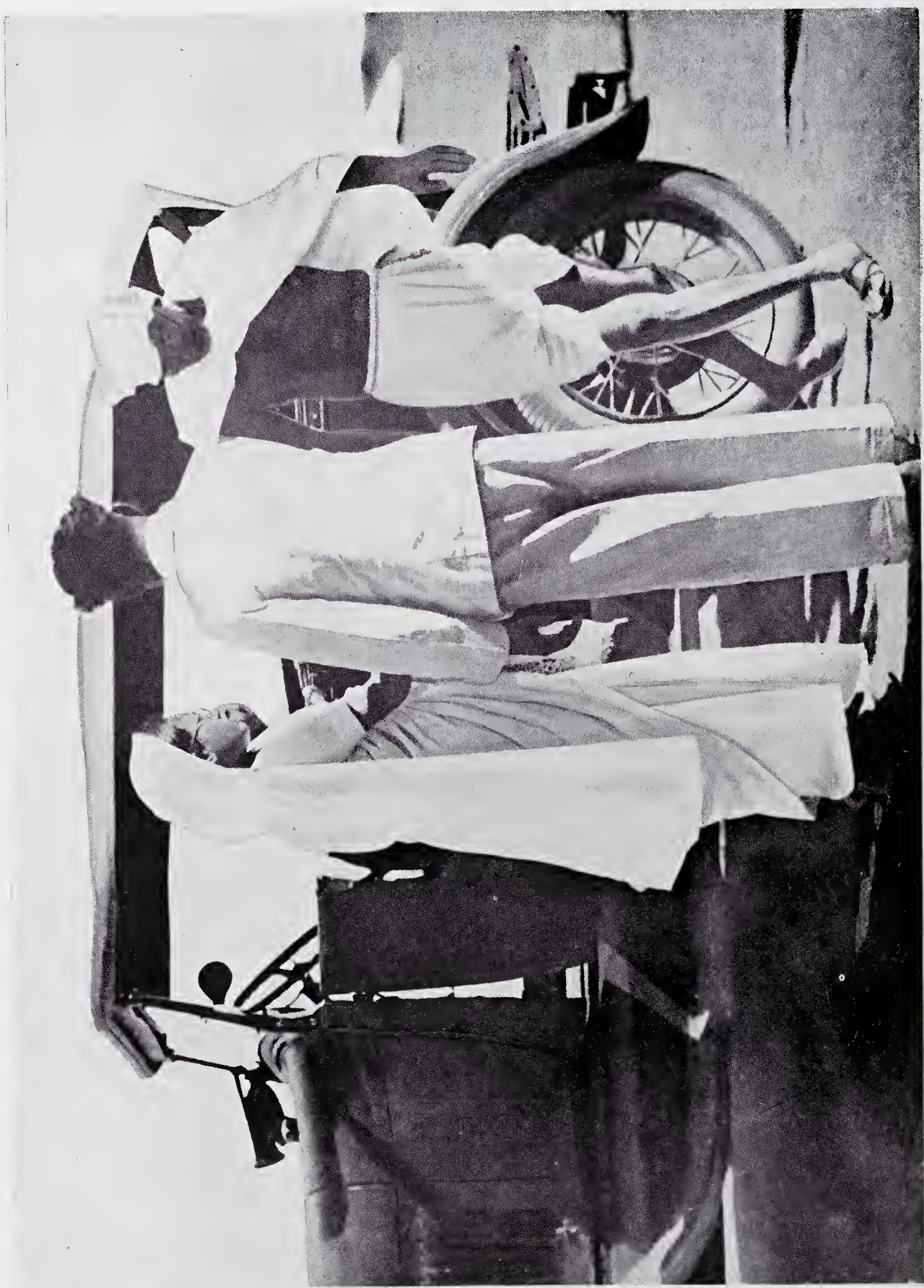


54. Writing an obituary over the bier of C. R. Dass after his sudden death in June, 1925.
 १९२५ में स्वर्गीय चित्तरञ्जन दास को आकस्मिक मृत्यु के पश्चात् उनकी अस्थी के पास मृत्योल्लेखन पुस्तिका में लिखते हुए

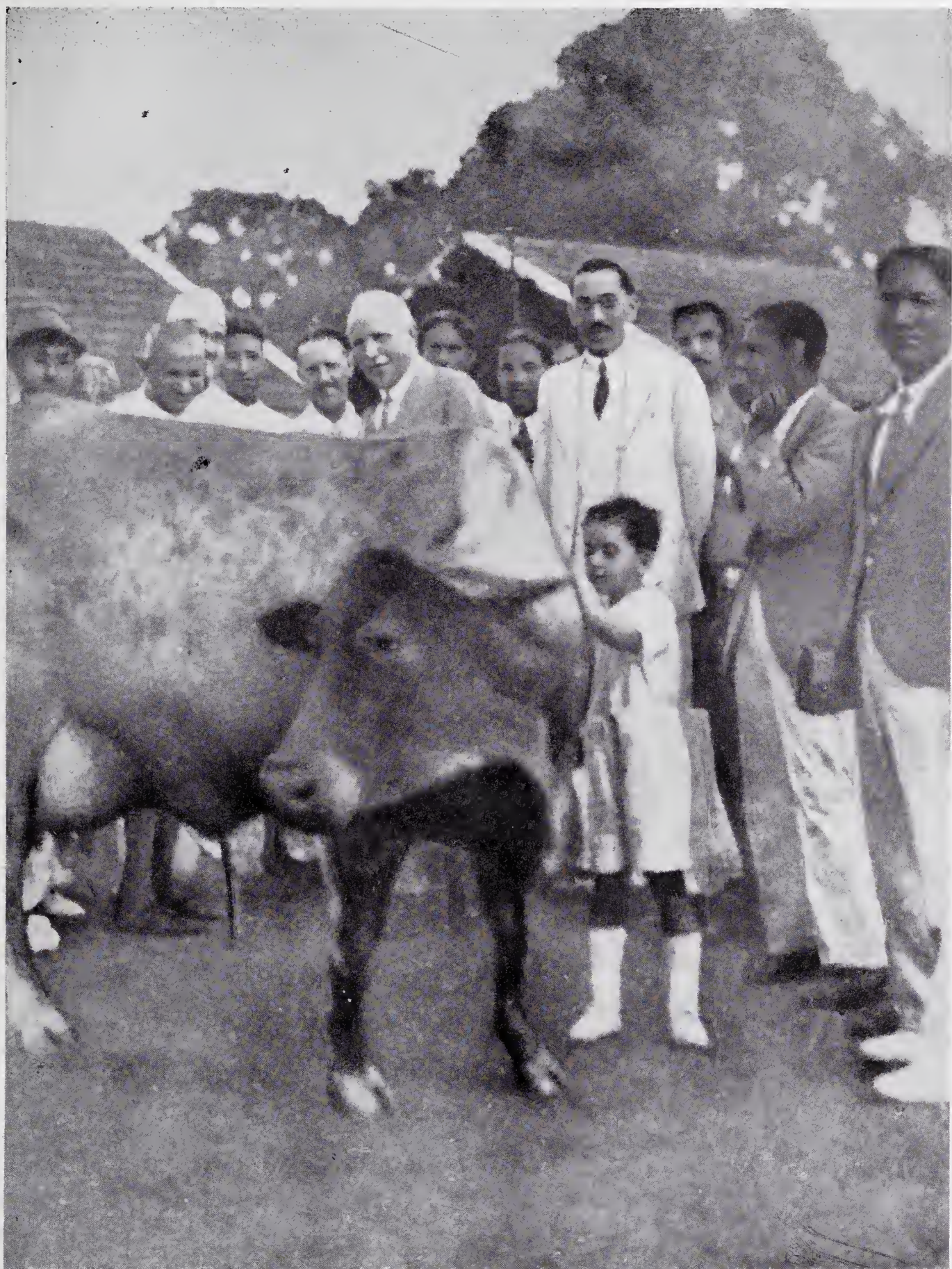


55. Meditating in the temple.

मन्दिर में ध्यानस्थ ।



Arriving to preside over the All-India Educational Conference at Nav Bharat Vidyalyaya in 1926.
१९२६ में नवभारत विद्यालय में आयोजित अखिल भारतीय शिक्षण सम्मेलन का समापन करने के लिये आगमन ।



57. A particular interest of the Mahatma was the uplift of the villages, a task which took most of his time and energy. Here he is seen, at a South Indian farm in 1927, discussing the improvements of cattle-breeding.

महात्मा जो गामोन्नति में विशेष रूचि रखते थे और इस काम में उनका अधिकांश समय तथा शक्ति लगती थी। इस चित्र में महात्माजी एक दक्षिण भारतीय पशुशाला में पशुओं को नस्ल सुधारने के सम्बन्ध में बातें कर रहे हैं।



58.

With Subhas Chandra Bose in Calcutta, 1928.

सन् १९२८ में कलकत्ता में सुभाषचन्द्र बोस के साथ।



59. This is all that is left of a once beautiful photograph of Mahatmaji with Pandit Motilal Nehru at the Calcutta Congress Session in 1928.
कांग्रेस के १९२८ में कलकत्ते वाले अधिवेशन में मोतीलाल नेहरू के साथ ।



60. With Manilal Kothari, President, Gujrat Congress Session.
गुजरात कांग्रेस अधिवेशन के सभापति श्री मणिलाल कोठारी के साथ ।



61. With Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the Lahore Congress Session, December 1929, when it proclaimed that the "Swaraj creed shall mean complete independence."
दिसम्बर १९२९ के लाहौर कांग्रेस अधिवेशन में, पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के साथ महात्मा जो जब कि कांग्रेस ने घोषणा की कि स्वराज्य का अर्थ पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता है।



62. Thanked by the people of Bardoli in 1930 after organising the restitution of forfeited land to the previous owners.

१९३० में जब्त भूमि पुराने मालिकों को वापस दिलाने के आन्दोलन के बाद वारदोली की जनता द्वारा कृतज्ञताज्ञापन के अवसर पर।

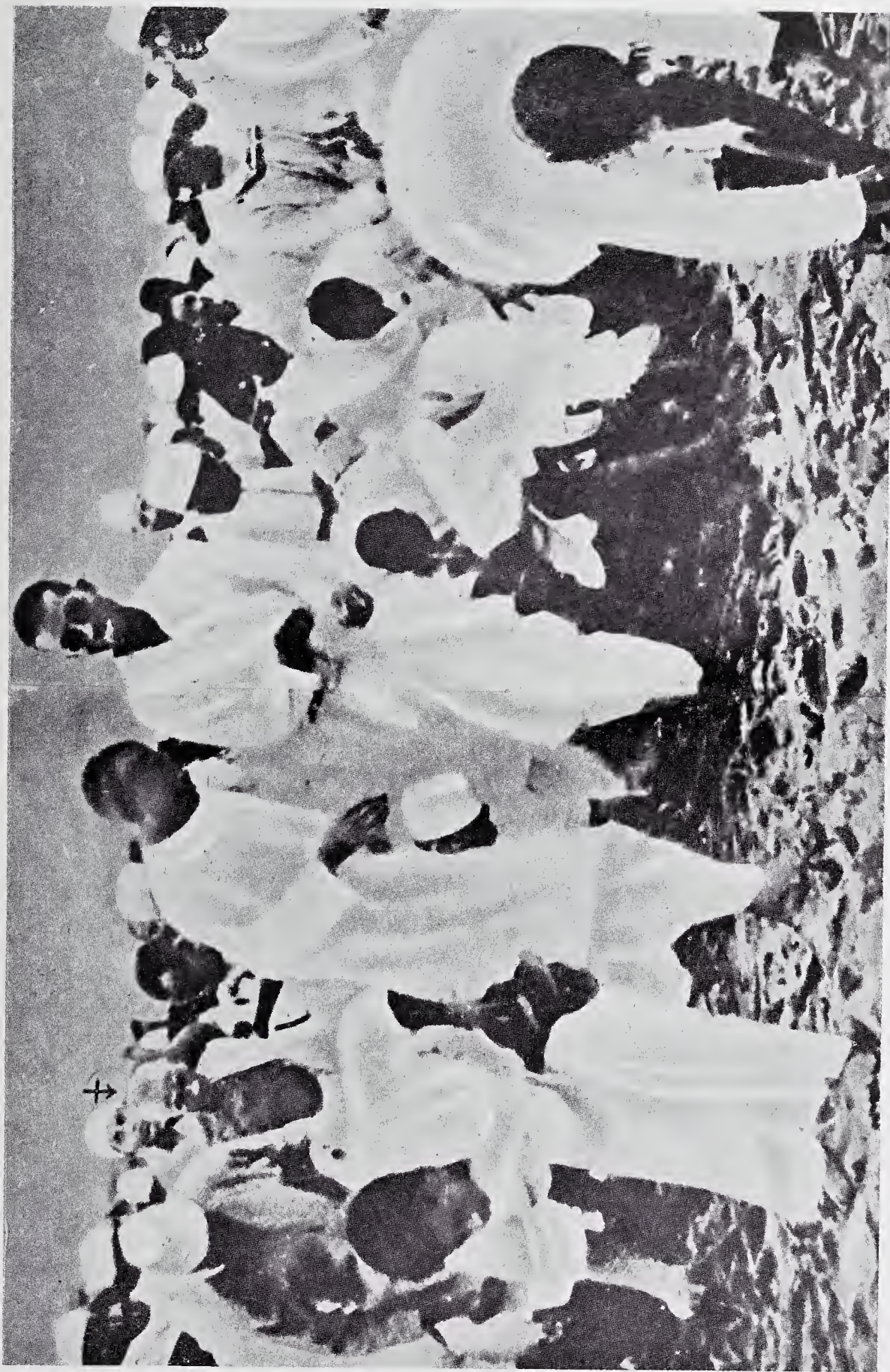


63. At Ahmedabad, leading the Great Salt March on 12th March 1930.

१९३० में १२ मार्च को अहमदाबाद में नमक कानून तोड़ने के आन्दोलन का नेतृत्व करते हुए।



With Smt. Sarojini Naidu on the historic Salt March in 1930.
श्रीमती सरोजिनी नायडू के साथ १९३१ में ऐतिहासिक डण्डी यात्रा का नेतृत्व करते हुए।



65. Mahatma Gandhi (marked with a cross) with 79 volunteers breaking the Salt Laws at Dandi on 6th April 1930.
 अप्रैल १९३० का महात्मा गान्धी का वह ऐतिहासिक चित्र जिसमें ७९ वालंटियर्स के साथ दण्डी में नमक कानून को अवज्ञा कर रहे हैं।
 महात्मा जी जहाँ खड़े हैं ऊपर चिन्ह + है।



66. On board-ship to attend the Round Table Conference in September 1931.
सदैव जिज्ञासु महात्माजी १९३१ की गोल मेज कान्फ्रेंस में भाग लेने के लिये इंग्लैंड गामो जहाज में ।



67. Arriving at Marseilles, France, en route to London.
लन्दन जाते हुए फ्रांस में बन्दरगाह मर्सेलिस पर ।



68. Greeted by Londoners on arrival to attend the Round Table Conference 1931.
 १९३१ में गोलमेज सम्मेलन भाग लेने के लिये पहुंचने पर लन्दन वासियों द्वारा अभिन्दन ।



69. Planting a Memorial tree in London, 1931.
 १९३१ में लन्दन में स्मृति वृक्ष-रोपण ।



70. First Session of the Round Table Conference at St. James Palace, September 14th, 1931.
सेण्ट जेम्स पैलेस, लन्दन में १४ सितम्बर १९३१ को गोल मेज सम्मेलन का प्रथम अधिवेशन।



71. Concluding Session of Round Table Conference on 30th November 1931.
U. K. Premier, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald delivering his concluding speech.
१९३१ में नवम्बर के राउण्ड टेबुल कान्फरेंस की समाप्ति के समय इङ्ग्लैण्ड के प्रधान मन्त्री सि० रामजे मेकडानल्ड समाप्ति भाषण दे रहे हैं।



72. With Charlie Chaplin in London, 1931. १९३१ में प्रसिद्ध हास्य अभिनेता चार्ली चैपलिन के साथ लन्दान में



73. Greeted by the people of Lancashire, during his stay in England.
इङ्ग्लैण्ड में लंकाशायर की जनता द्वारा अभिनन्दन ।



74.

With Pandit Malaviya leaving Lord Irwin's London residence, 1931.
मालवीय जी के साथ १९३१ में लार्ड इरविन के लन्दनस्थित वास स्थान से बाहर आते समय ।



75.

With son Devdas standing behind him and his devotee, Mira Ben
(Miss Slade) sitting at right.

लन्दन में अपने पुत्र देवदास (पीछे) तथा मोराबेन, (मिस स्लेड) के साथ ।



76.

Visiting the mill areas, Darwen.
डरवन में मिल के इलाके का भ्रमण करते समय ।



77. With Romain Rolland in Switzerland on 6th December 1931.

६ दिसम्बर १९३१ में रोमां रोलां के साथ स्वीजरलैण्ड में ।



78.

A 1932 Portrait.

१९३२ का एक अन्य चित्र ।



79.

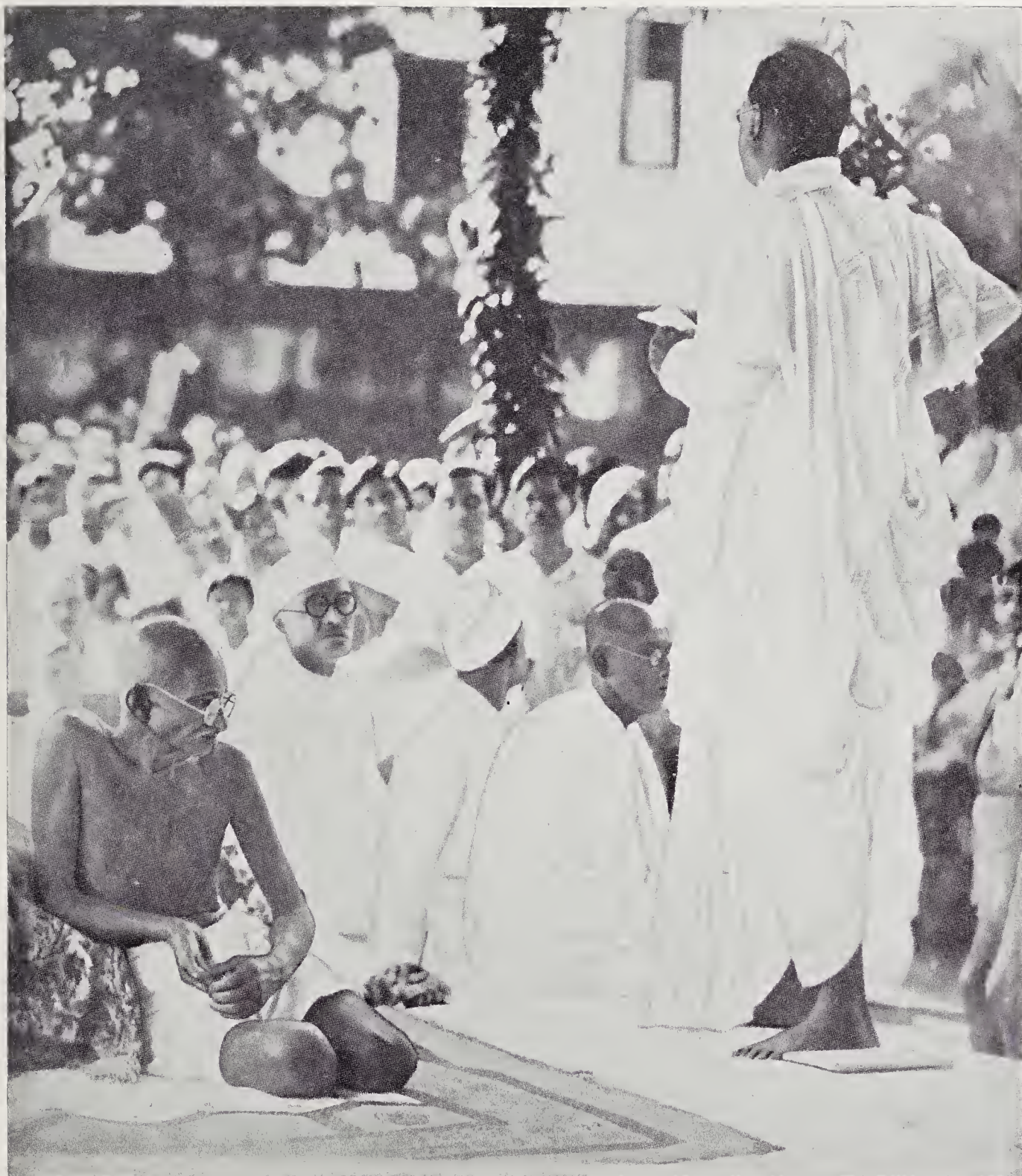
Fasting at Parnakuti, Poona, in May 1933.

मई १९३३ में पर्णकुटी पूना में अनशन।



80. At Sabarmati, inaugurating the campaign of individual civil disobedience in July 1933.

जुलाई १९३३ में साबरमती में वैयक्तिक सत्याग्रह का उद्घाटन करते हुए।

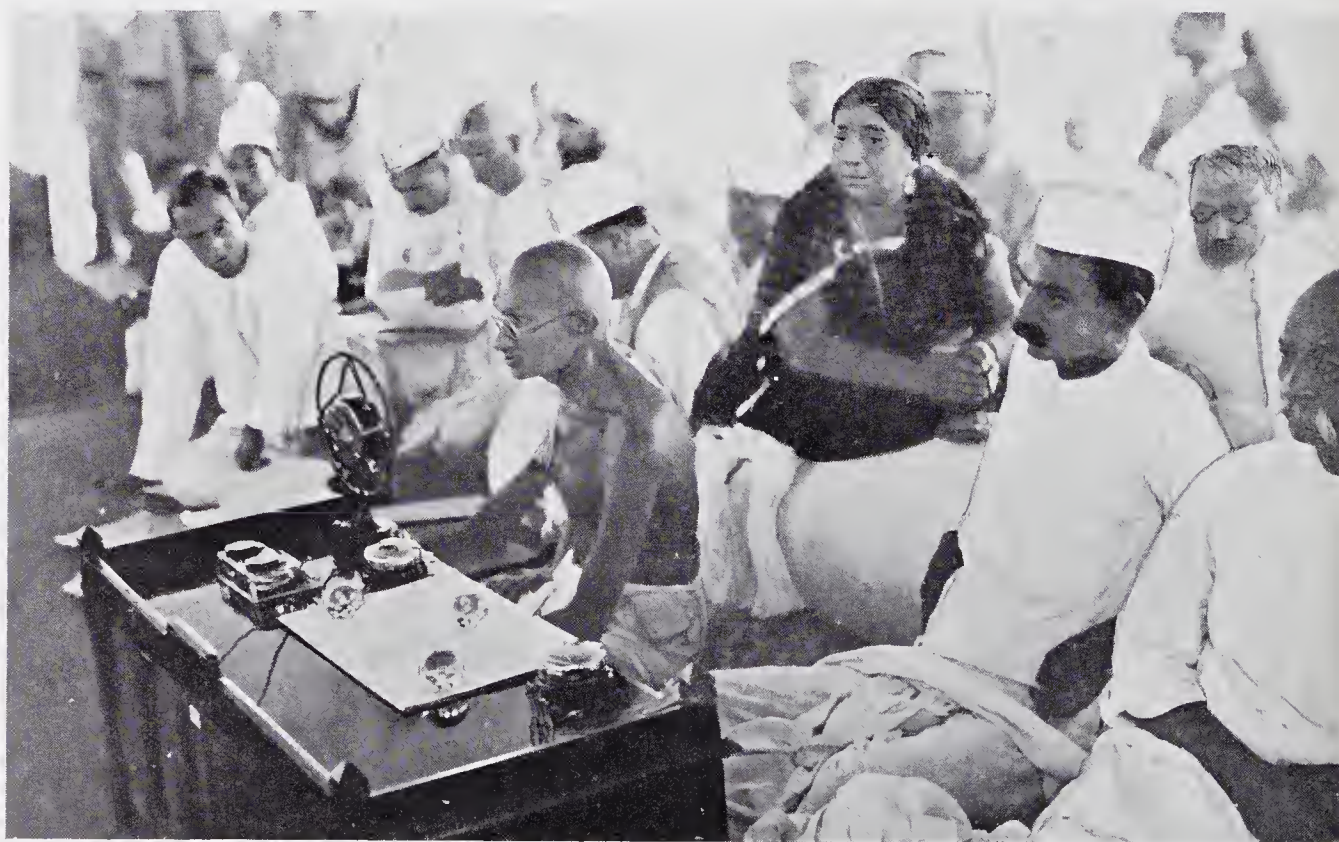


81. Dr. B. C. Roy requesting Mahatma to lay the foundation stone of the children's ward of Chittaranjan Seva Sadan in Calcutta, 23rd March, 1934.

डा० बी० सी० राय द्वारा २३ मार्च १९३४ को चित्तरंजन सेवा सदन के शिशु विभाग का शिलान्यास करने को महात्माजी से डा० विधान राय अनुरोध कर रहे हैं ।



82. School girls offering him gifts for the Harijan movement in Calcutta in July 1934.
जुलाई १९३४ कलकत्ते में, हरिजन कोल के लिए छात्राओं द्वारा प्रसादन के समय का दृश्य ।



83. Addressing the A.I.C.C. meeting, November 1934.
१९३४ के नवम्बर में अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी की बैठक में भाषण देते हुए ।



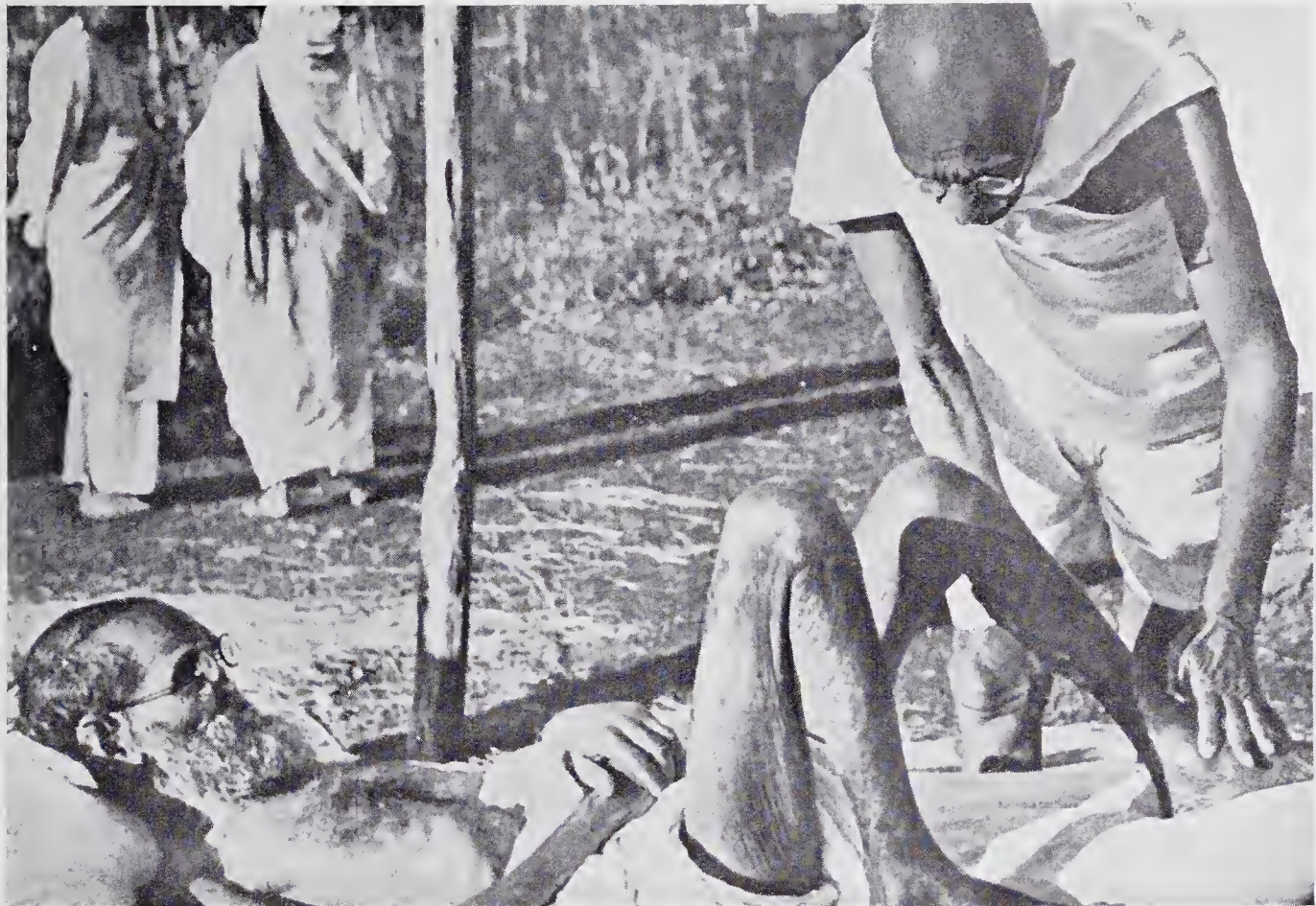
84. Organising relief after the earthquake calamity of North Bihar. 1934.
 १९३४ के भूकम्प में उत्तरी बिहार में सहायताकार्यरत



85. Presiding over the Indian Literary Conference at Indore in April 1935.
 अप्रैल १९३५ में भारतीय साहित्यिक सम्मेलन को अध्यक्षता करते हुए ।



86. With Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at Shegaon in 1935.
१९३५ में जवाहरलाल नेहरू और मौलाना अबुल कलाम आजाद के साथ शेगांव में ।



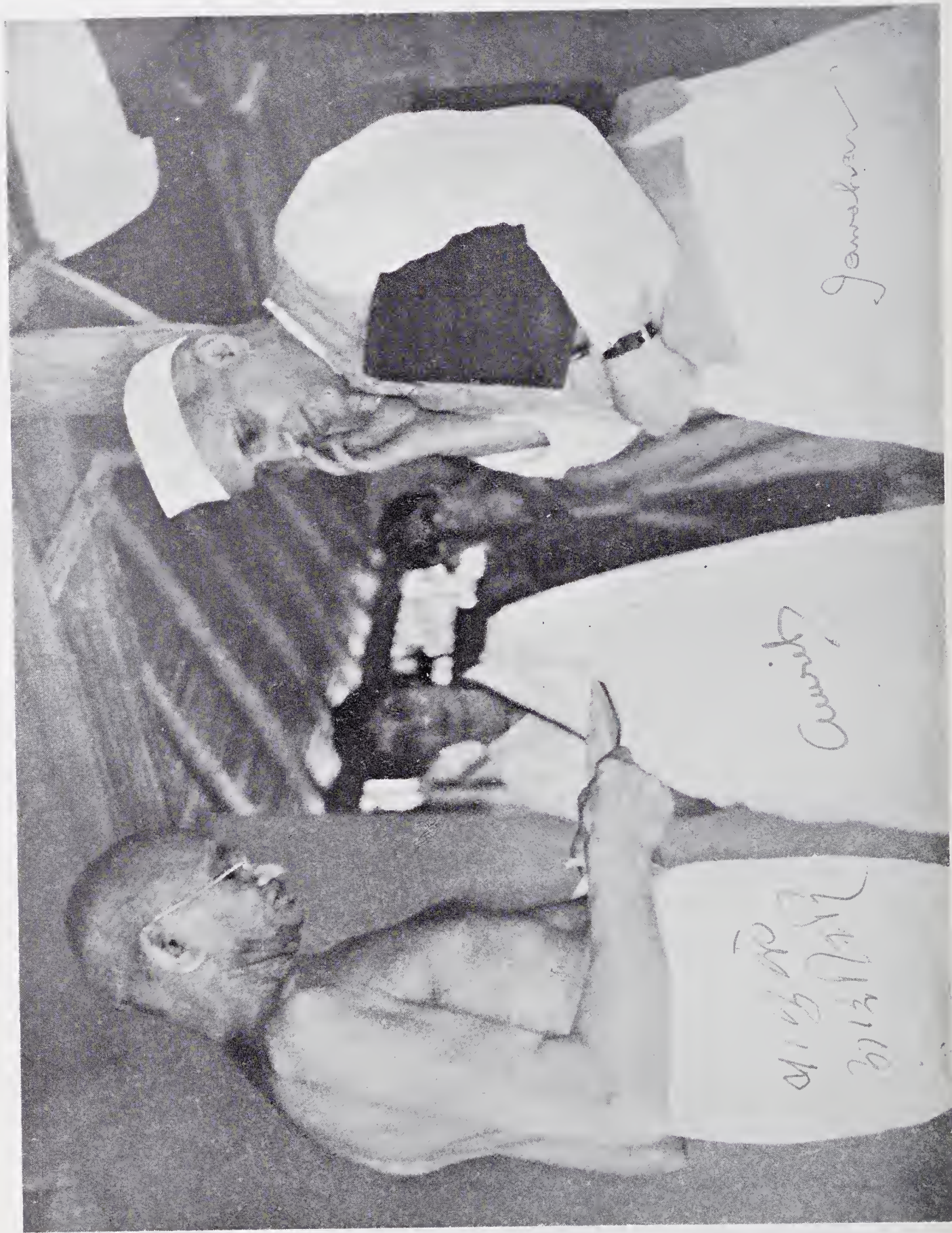
87. Nursing a leper friend.

एक कोढ़ी मित्र की सेवा करते हुए ।



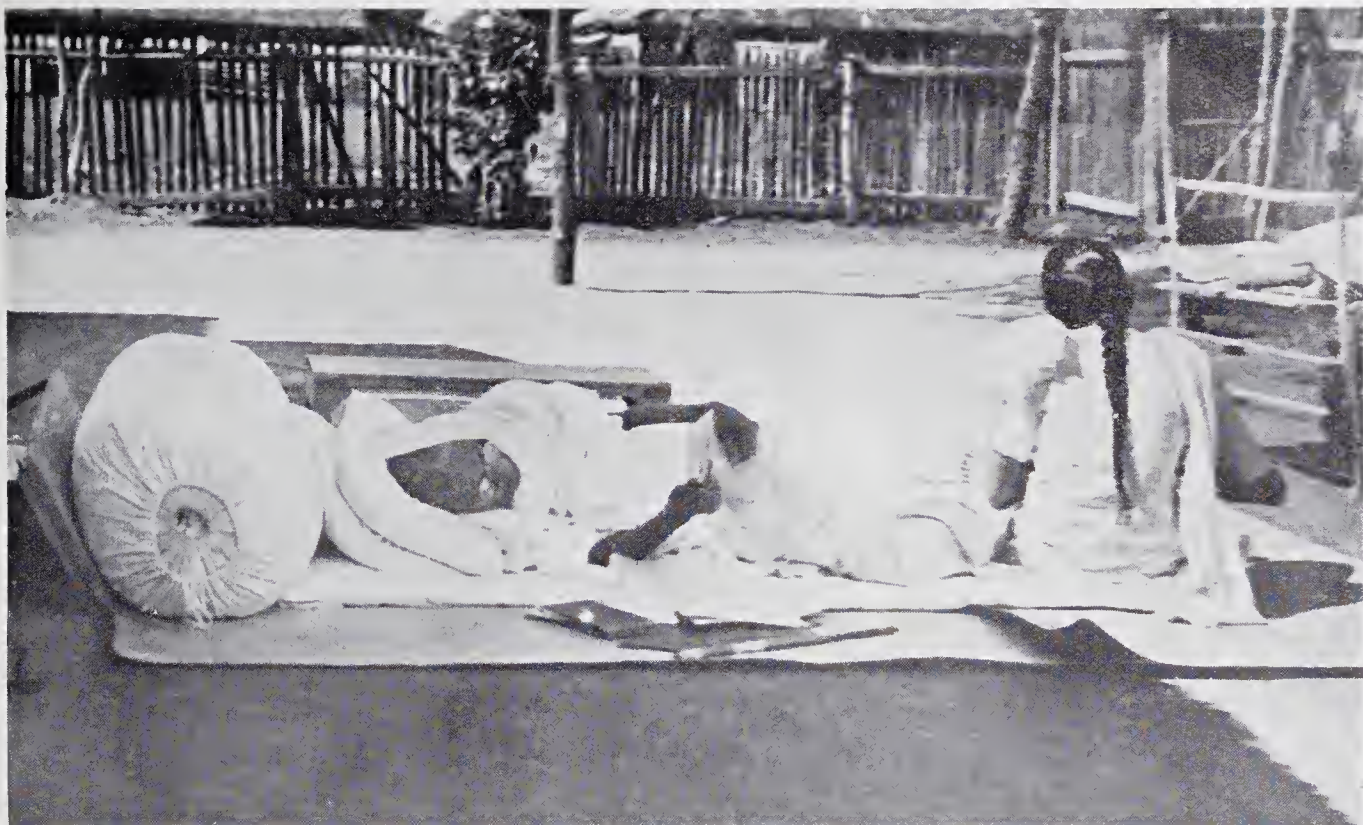
88. Inspecting the Congress Ladies' Volunteer Corps at Tilaknagar, Faizpur in November 1936.

नवम्बर १९३६ में फैजपुर, तिलकनगर में कांग्रेस महिला स्वयंसेविका दल का निरीक्षण करते हुए



89. With Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Pandit Nehru in deep meditation over the reports of the health statistics in rural India.

भारतीय गाम्य जीवन के स्वास्थ्य सम्बन्धी तथ्यों पर राजकुमारी अमृतकौर तथा पं० नेहरू के साथ विवेचना में मग्न



90. Resting at Sewagram.

सेवा ग्राम में विश्राम ।



91.

With Jamunalal Bajaj Collecting the Harijan Fund.

श्री जमुनालाल बजाज के साथ हरिजन कोषके लिये धन संग्रह



92.

Amongst security prisoners.

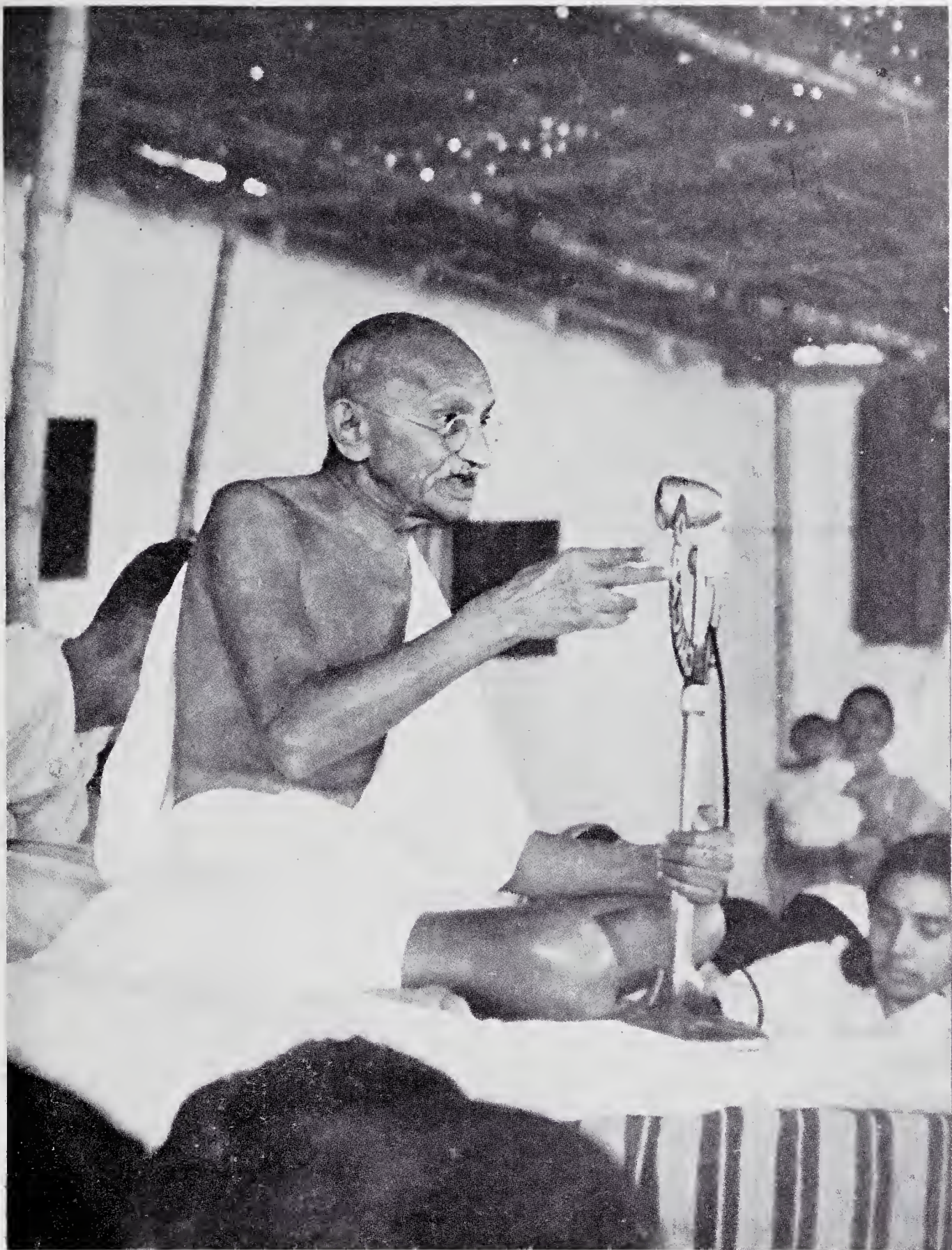
राज-बन्धियों के बीच में ।



93.

Leaving jail with Mahadev Desai.

महादेव देसाई के साथ कारागृह से मुक्ति ।



94.

Addressing the Writers' and Authors' Conference in Madras, April 1937.

अप्रैल १९३७ में मद्रास में साहित्यकारों एवं लेखकों के सम्मेलन में भाषण देते हुए ।



95.

With Lord Linlithgow, the Governor-General, at their first meeting.

गवर्नर जनरल लार्ड लिनलिथगो के साथ पहली मुलाकात ।

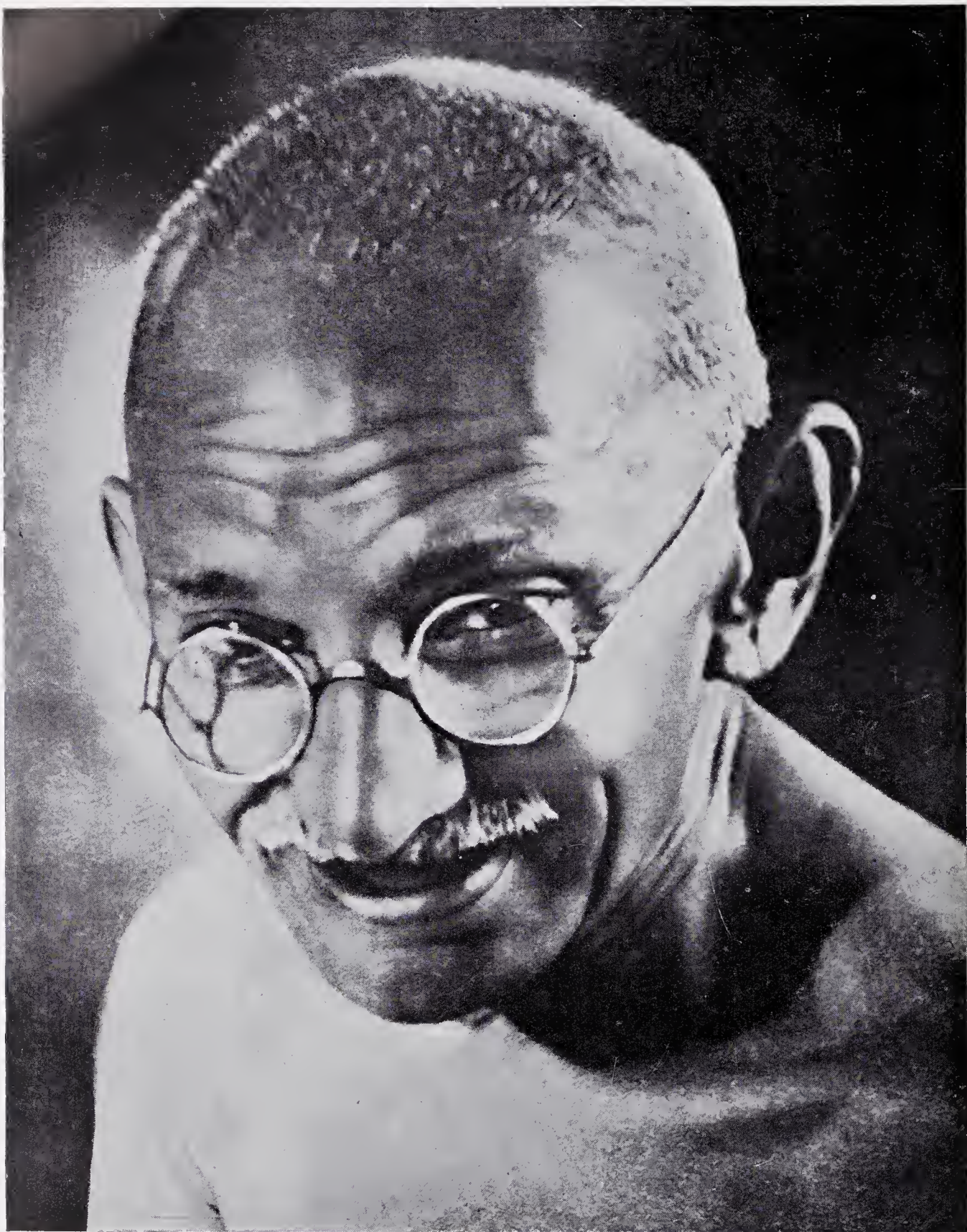


96.

With Members, Congress Working Committee on the way to Harijan Colony,

Delhi, to discuss the Congress acceptance of office in the year 1937.

१९३७ में कांग्रेस के शासनाधिकार सम्हालने के विषयमें विचार विनिमय करने के लिये उपस्थित कार्य समिति के सदस्यों के साथ दिल्ली की हरिजन बस्तीमें ।



97.

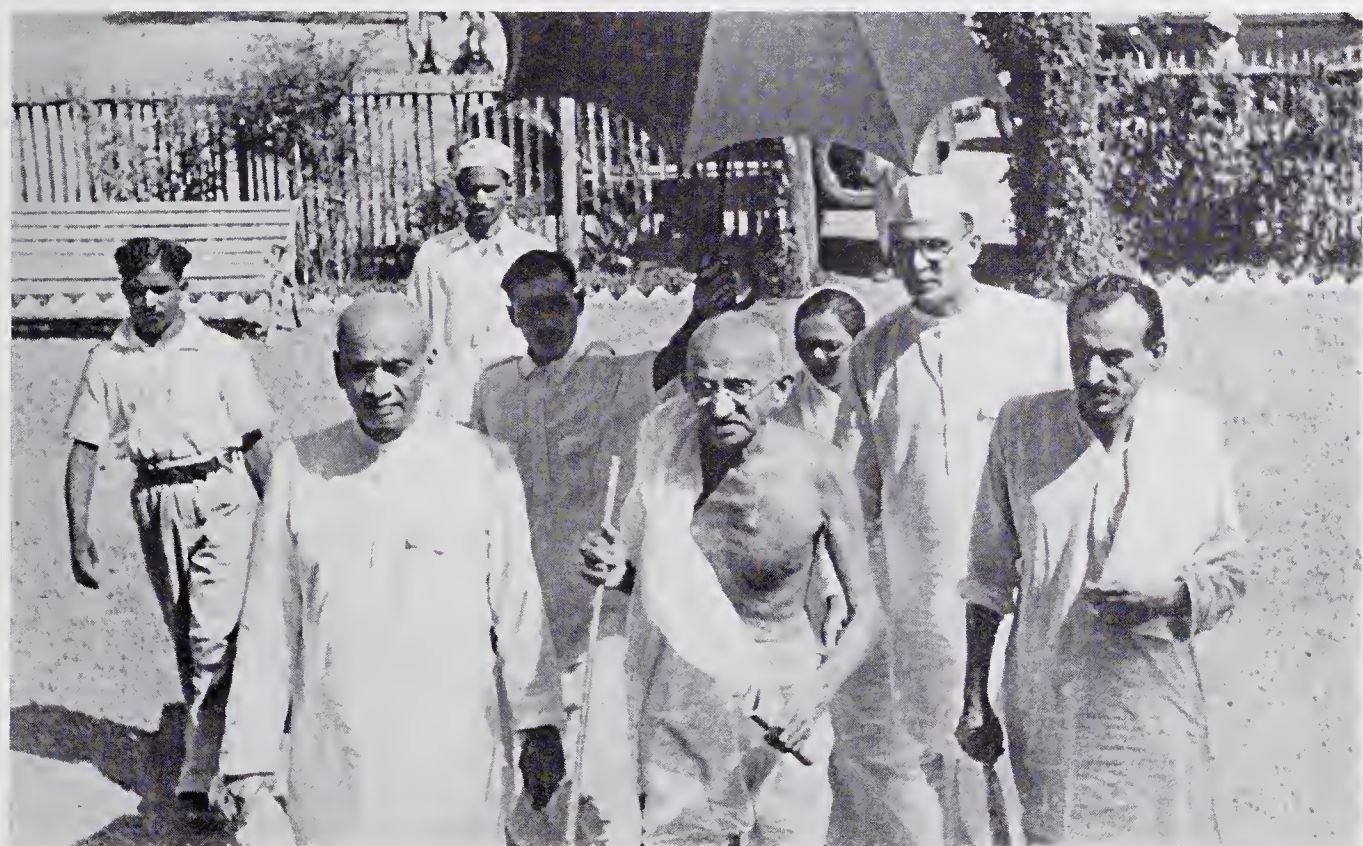
A 1937 portrait, after Congress entered the provincial governments offices.

कांग्रेस द्वारा प्रान्तीय सरकारों क पद ग्रहण के बाद मार्च १९३७ का चित्र



98. Arriving at the Nazimuddin Station Delhi.

दिल्ली के स्टेशन पर नाजिमुद्दीन गांधीजी ।



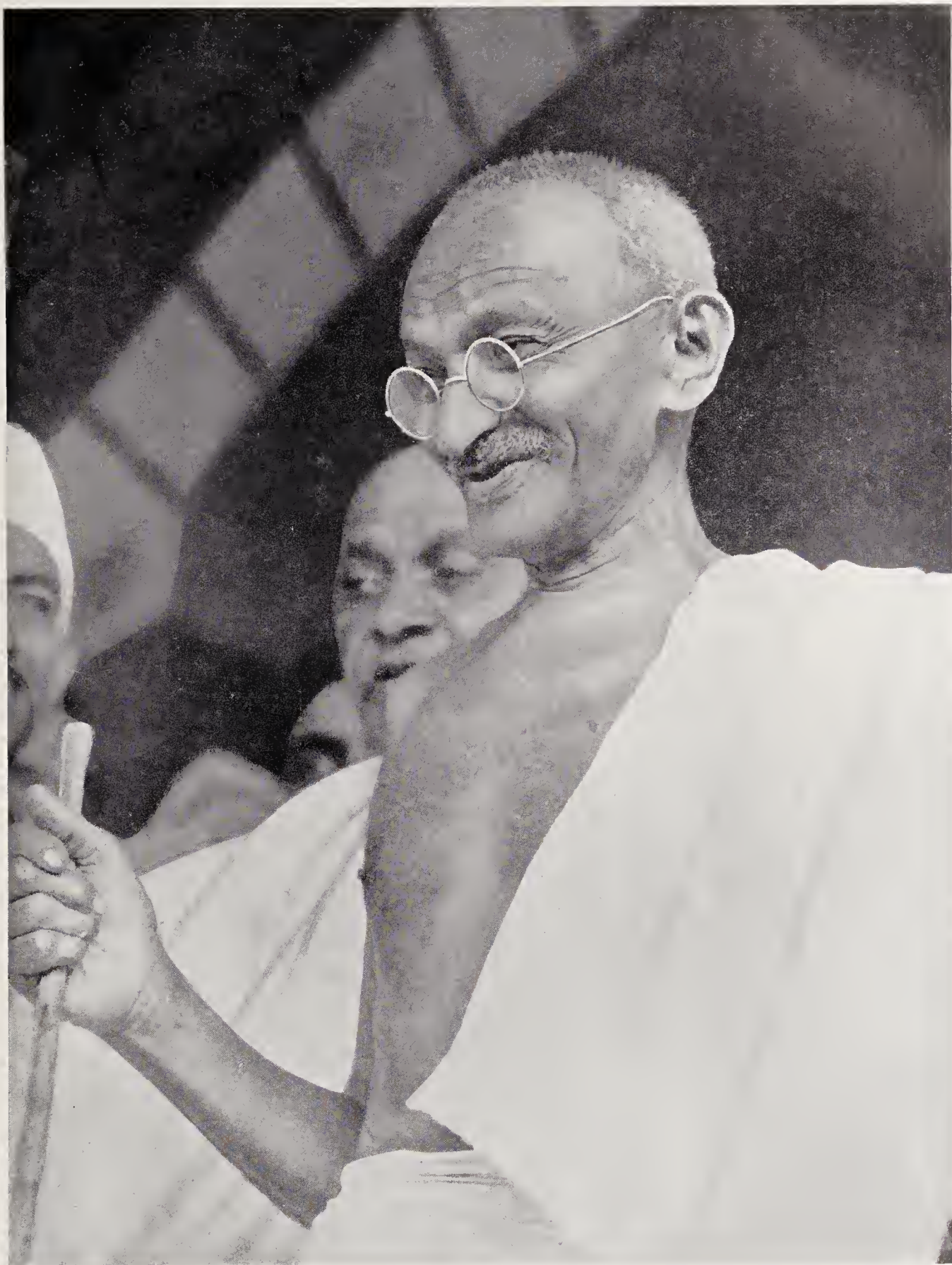
99. Amongst his close co-operators.

अपने अन्तरङ्ग सहयोगियों के साथ ।



100. Kasturba - his life long companion

जीवन-संगिनी कस्तूरबा ।



101.

Daridra Narayan—the defender of all who are weak and poor.

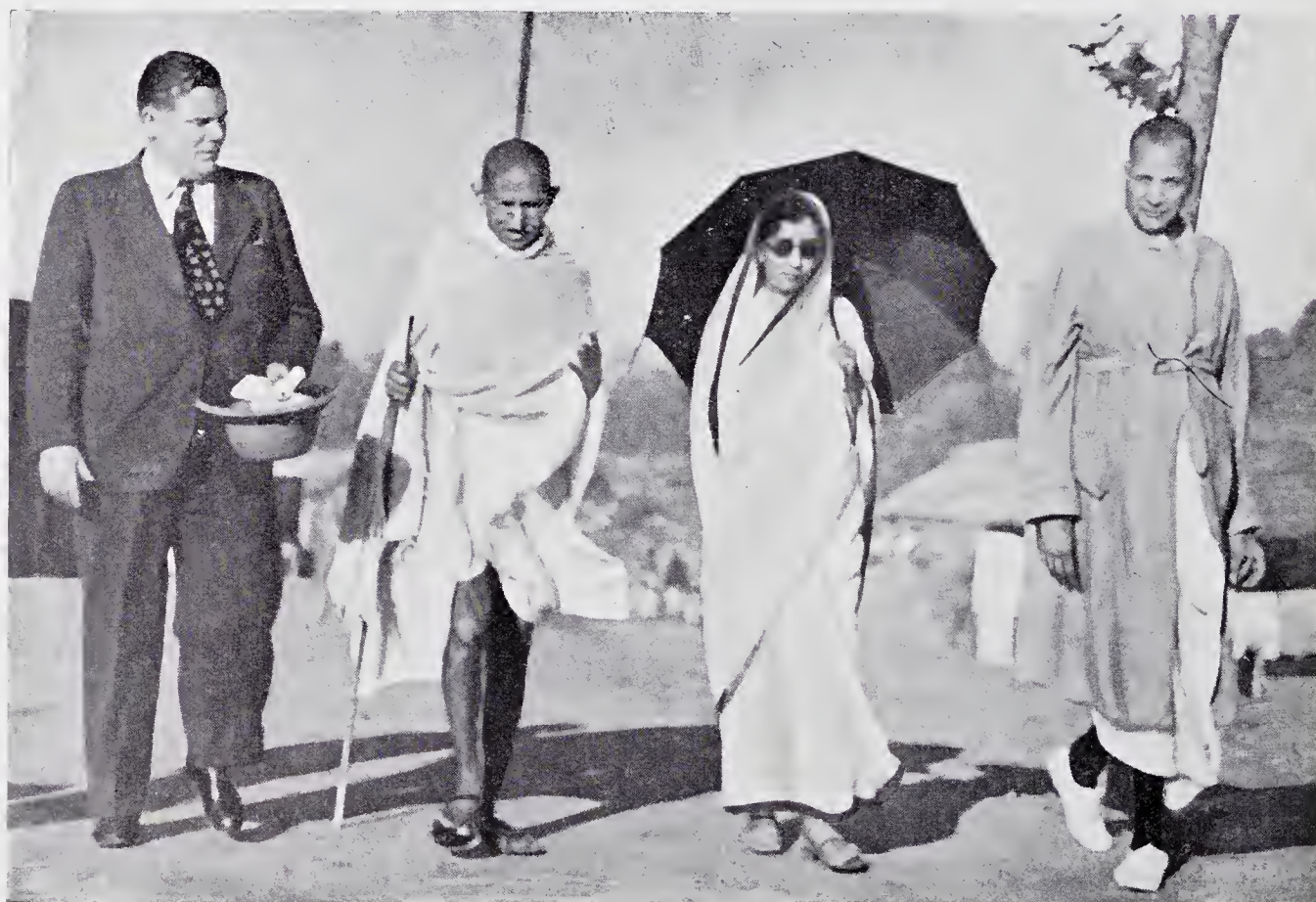
दरिद्रनारायण—निर्बल के अथक पालक ।



102.

One of the most exclusive pictures of the Mahatma riding a bicycle at 68 years of age.

महात्माजी के जीवन की एक अनुपम भांकी—६८ वर्ष की आयु में सायकिल चला रहे हैं ।



103.

Explaining the ideal of non-violence to the U.P. Correspondent Reynold Prehard.

युनइटेड प्रेस के संवाददाता रीनाल्ड प्रिहार्ड को अहिंसा के सिद्धान्त बताते हुए ।



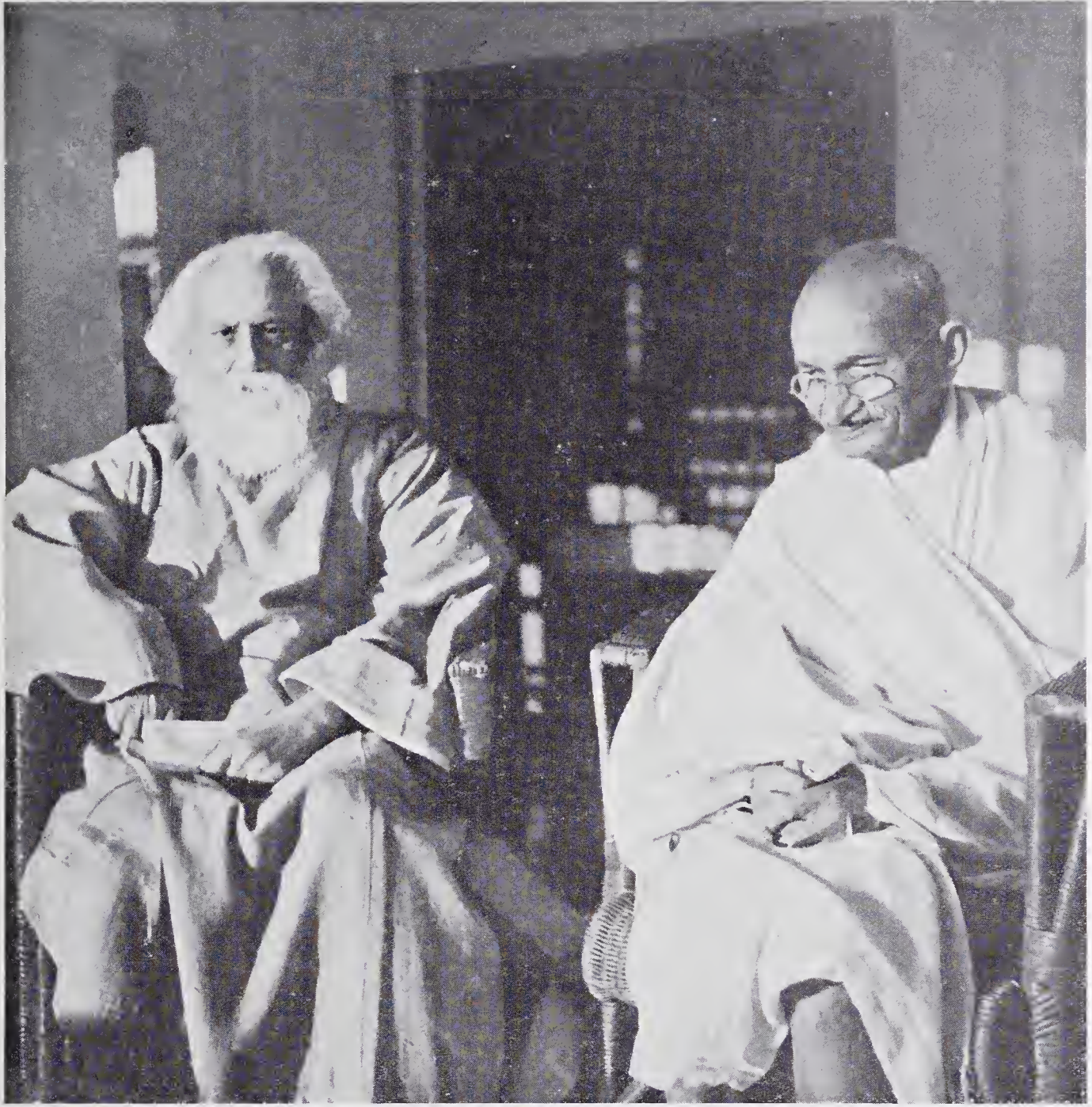
104.

In Wardha with Mr. Barucha in August 1937.

अगस्त सन् १९३७ में वर्धा में मि० बरुचा के साथ।



105. With Kasturba at Santiniketan listening to Rabindranath Tagore's address of welcome.
शान्ति निकेतन में कस्तूरबा के साथ—रबींद्र। कवींद्र स्वागत भाषण पाठ कर रहे हैं।



106.

Two sages meet at Santiniketan.

शान्ति निकेतन में सन्त सम्मेलन



107. Another release from jail.

जेल से एकबार फिर छुटकारा मिला ।



108. In Ahmedabad in the year 1938.

सन् १९३८ में अहमदाबाद में ।



109. With Congress President, Subhas Chandra Bose at the Haripura Session in 1938.
 १९३८ के हरिपुरा अधिवेशन में राष्ट्रपति सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के साथ ।



110. With Bhulabhai Desai in Delhi, November 1938.
 १९३८ के नवम्बर में श्री भूलाभाई देसाई के साथ दिल्ली में ।



III. Opening the Laxminarayan Temple, New Delhi, on 20th March, 1939.
 १९३९ के २० मार्च को नई दिल्ली के लक्ष्मीनारायण मन्दिर का उद्घाटन करते हुए।



III.2. Addressing the people of Peshawar. १९३८-३९ में पेशावर के दौरे में सोमा प्रान्त की जनता के बीच भाषण के समय दृश्य



113. At the Khyber Pass in 1938-39: A member of a Red Shirt unit demonstrating the operation of a rifle.

१९३८-३९ में खैबर घाटी और सीमा प्रान्त की यात्रा में लालकुर्ती के वालंटियर महात्माजी को राइफल का प्रयोग समझा रहा है।



114. This goat was presented to Mahatma by members of Red Shirt Units during his visit to Peshawar in 1939.

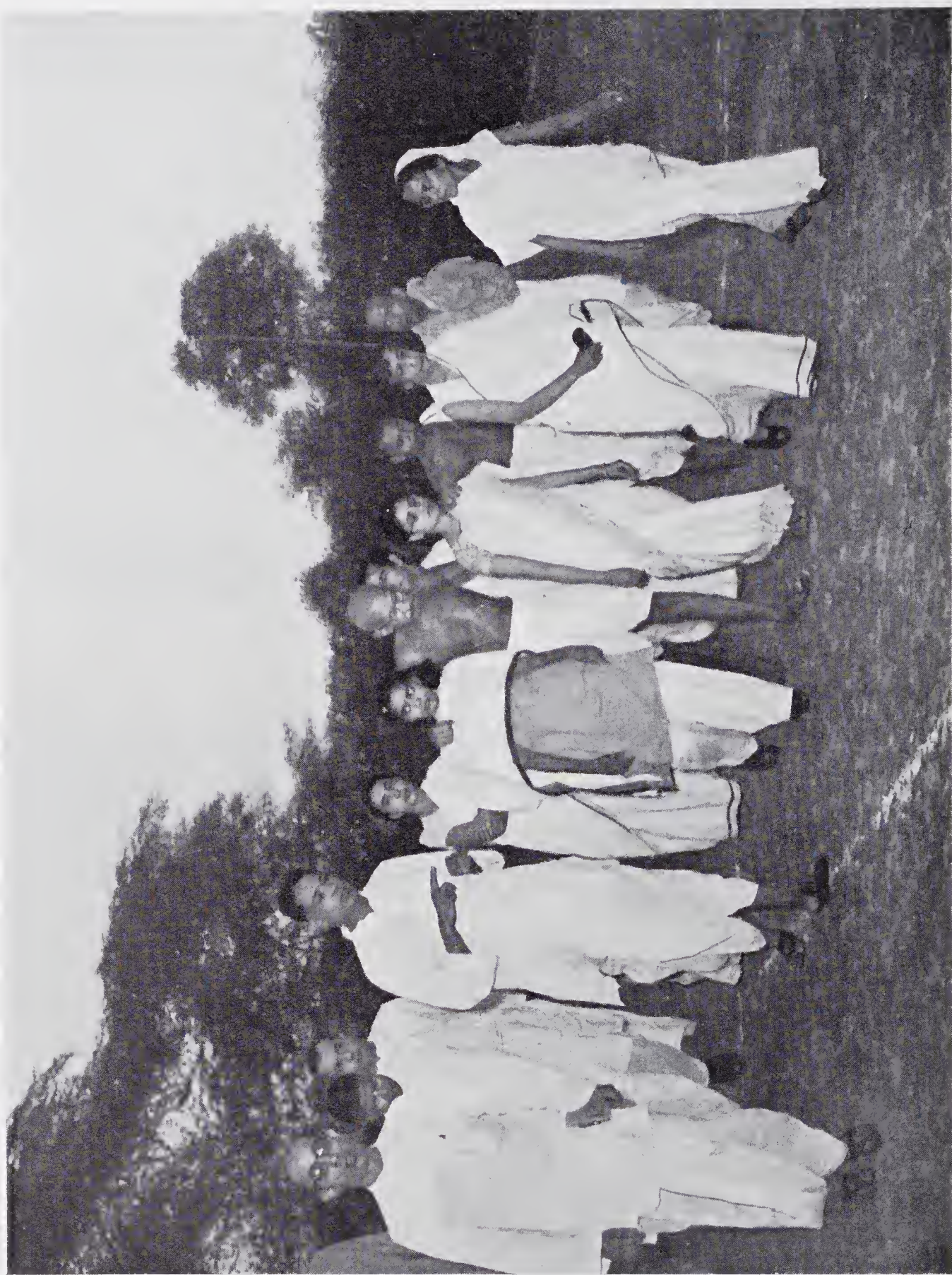
१९३८ में पेशावर यात्रा के समय लालकुर्ती वालों ने महात्माजी को यह बकरी भेंट की थी।



115. Taking his last meal before the Rajkot Fast, March 3rd 1939.
राजकोट में अनशन करने के पूर्व ३ मार्च १९३९ को अन्तिम भोजन ।



116. After Rajkot fast, on his way to meet the Viceroy on March 19th 1939.
राजकोट के अनशन के बाद १९ मार्च १९३९ को वायसराय से मिलने के लिये जाते हुए ।



With Jaiprakash Narain (fourth from the left) on an early morning walk.

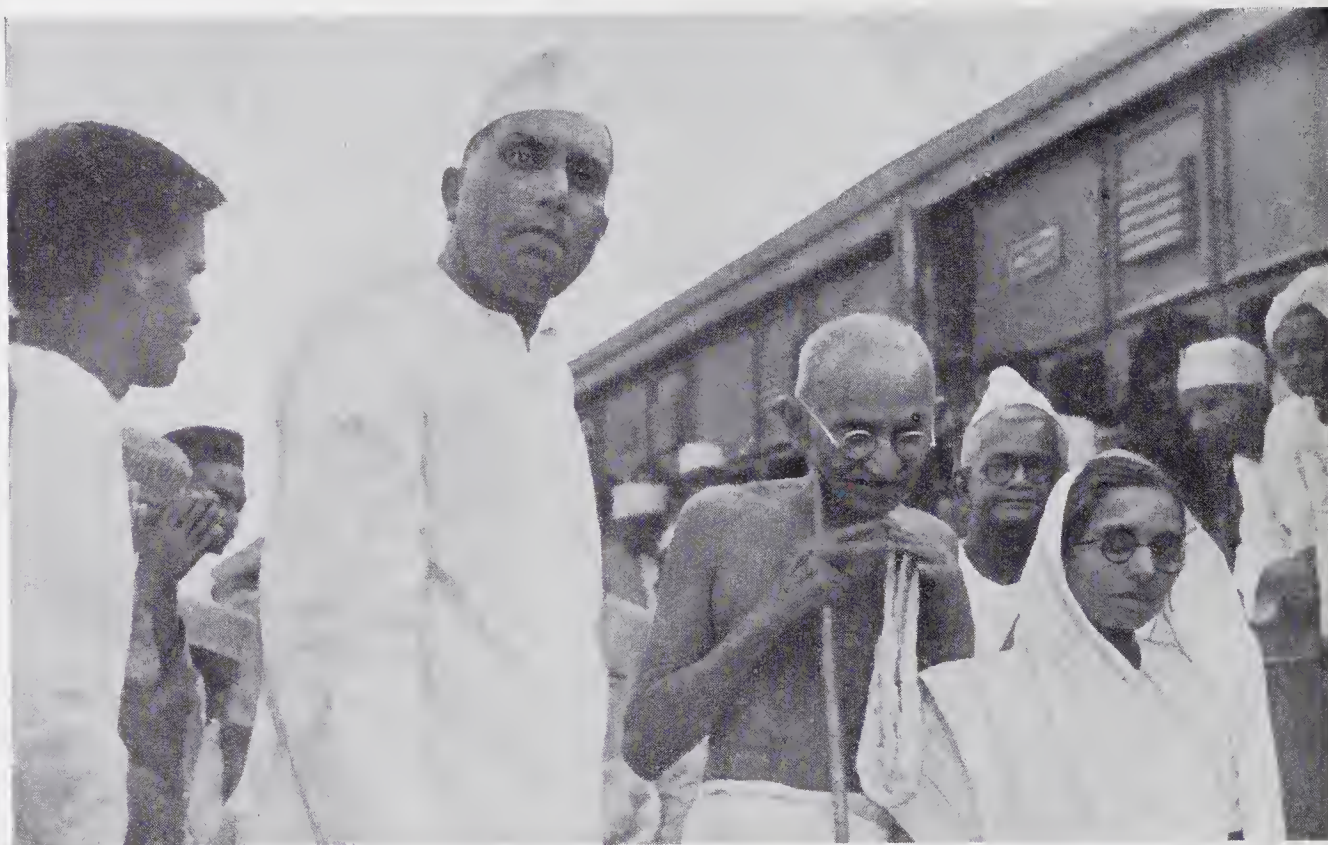


118. Presiding over a convocation of Harijan Udyog Shaba, Industrial Institution for Untouchables at the Harijan Colony, Delhi in the year 1939.
दिल्ली के हरिजन बस्ती में सन् १९३९ में हरिजन उद्योगशाला के वार्षिक समारोह की अध्यक्षता करते हुए।



119. Amongst the poorest of the poor.

दीन-हीन व्यक्तियों के मित्र



120. At the Seva Sangha at Brindaban in May 1939.

मई १९३९ में वृन्दावन के सेवासंघ में ।



121. With the Congress High Command at Bombay in June 1939, deciding the path of India in the approaching Second World War.

सन् १९३९ की जून में कांग्रेस हाईकमांड के साथ द्वितीय महायुद्ध में भारत की नीति का निर्णय करते हुए।



122. Leaving his house at Sevagram for an evening walk. An August 1939 picture.
 संध्या वायु सेवनार्थं सेवाग्राम आश्रम से निकलते हुए—अगस्त सन् १९३९ का चित्र ।



123. His hut and—

महात्मा जी की कुटि ।



124. —his office at Sevagram.

—और आफिस । सेवाग्राममें ।





126. Prayers at Delhi. Picture from July 1940.

दिल्ली में एक प्रार्थना समा, लई १९४० का चित्र ।







129.

In Simla on his way to meet the Viceroy, October 1940.
 १९४० के अक्टोबर महीने में वायसराय से मिलने जाते समय शिमला में।

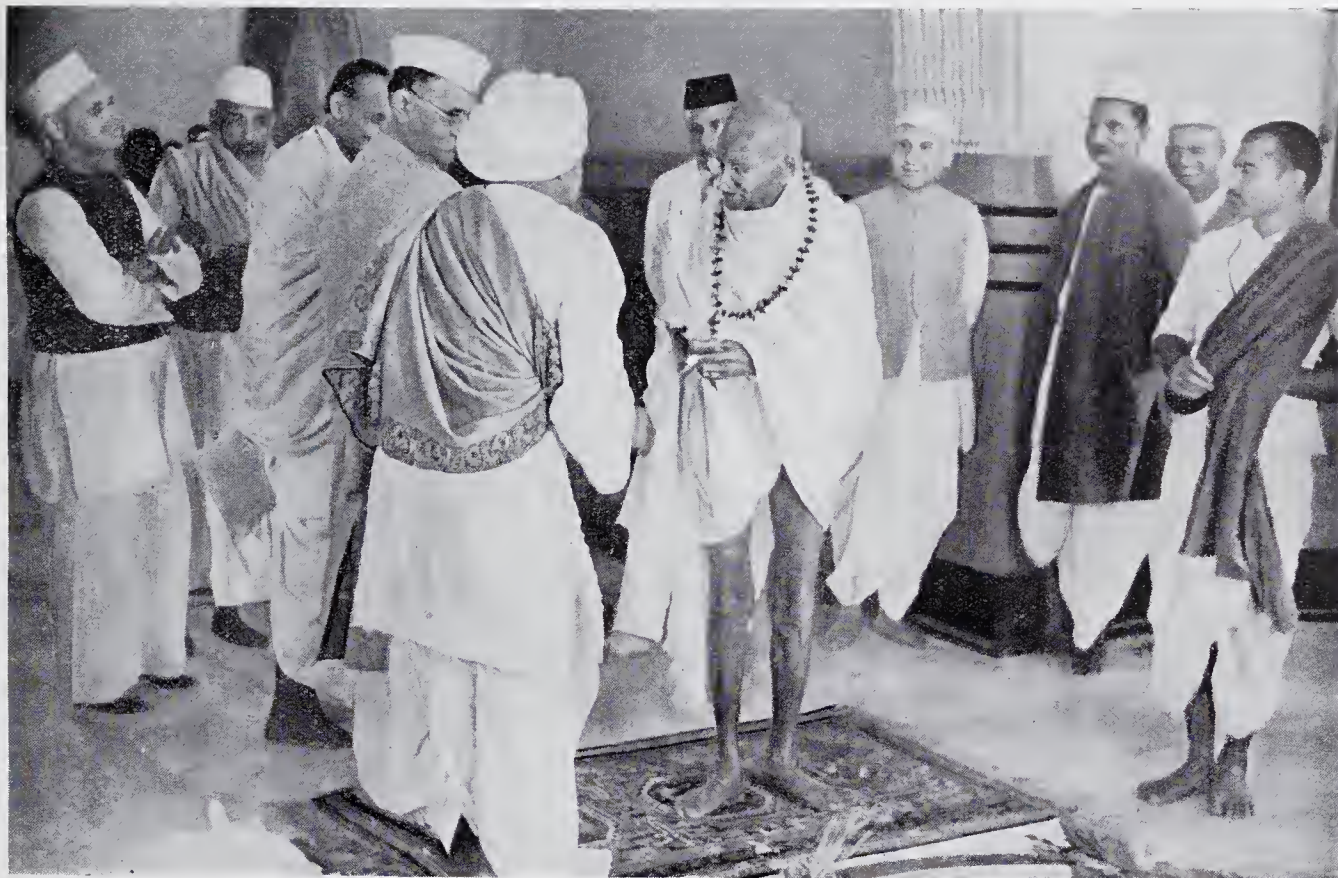


130.

Returning from Viceregal Lodge, surrounded by journalists.
 वायसराय भवन से वापस आने पर पत्रकारों के बीच।



131. Laying the foundation stone of Kamala Nehru hospital at Allahabad.
इलाहाबाद में कमला नेहरू अस्पताल का शिलान्यास करते समय ।



132. 133.

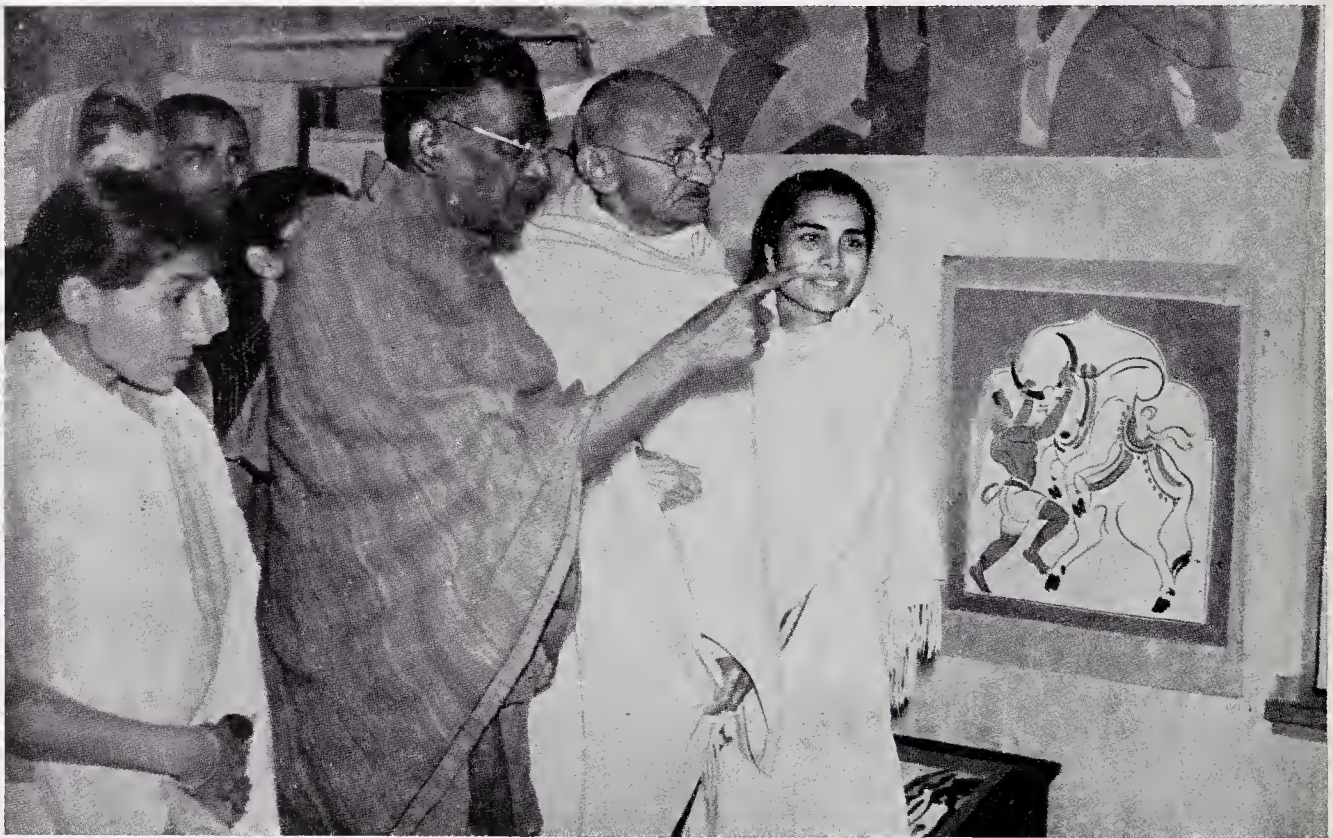
The opening ceremony of the Kamala Nehru Hospital,
Allahabad on 3rd March, 1941.
१९४१, ३ मार्च को कमला नेहरू अस्पताल के उद्घाटन के समय इलहाबाद में।





134. With Rathindranath Tagore at Santiniketan.

शान्तिनिकेतन में रथीन्द्रनाथ टैगोर के साथ ।



135. With Prof. Nandalal Bose viewing an Art Exhibition at Santiniketan.

शान्तिनिकेतन में प्रो० नन्दलाल बोस के साथ कलाप्रदर्शनी का निरीक्षण ।



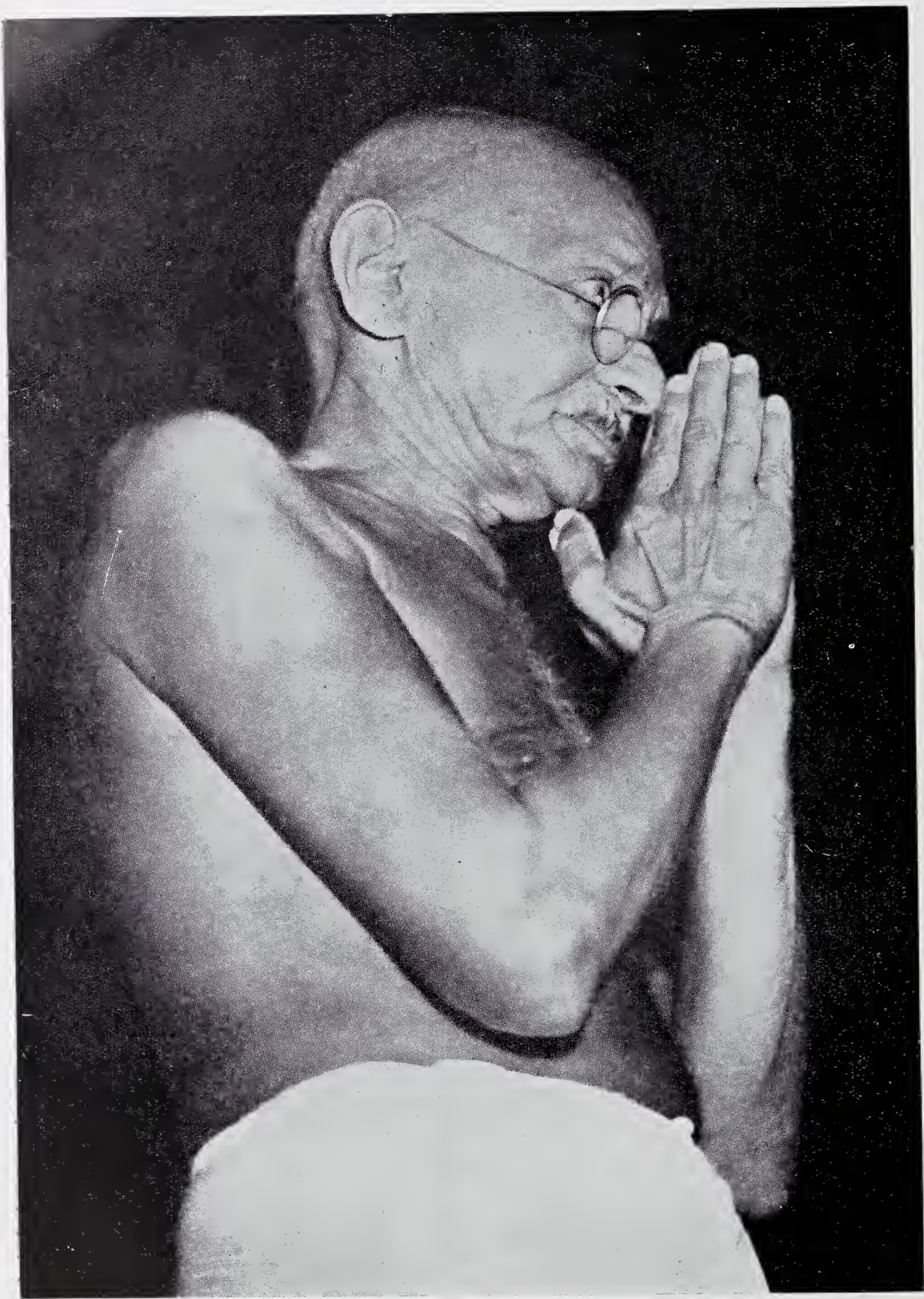
136. At a prayer meeting of the Mahatma.

महत्माजी की प्रार्थना सभा ॥



137. Kasturba addressing a meeting in Delhi.

दिल्ली में कस्तूरबा एक सभा में भाषण दे रही हैं

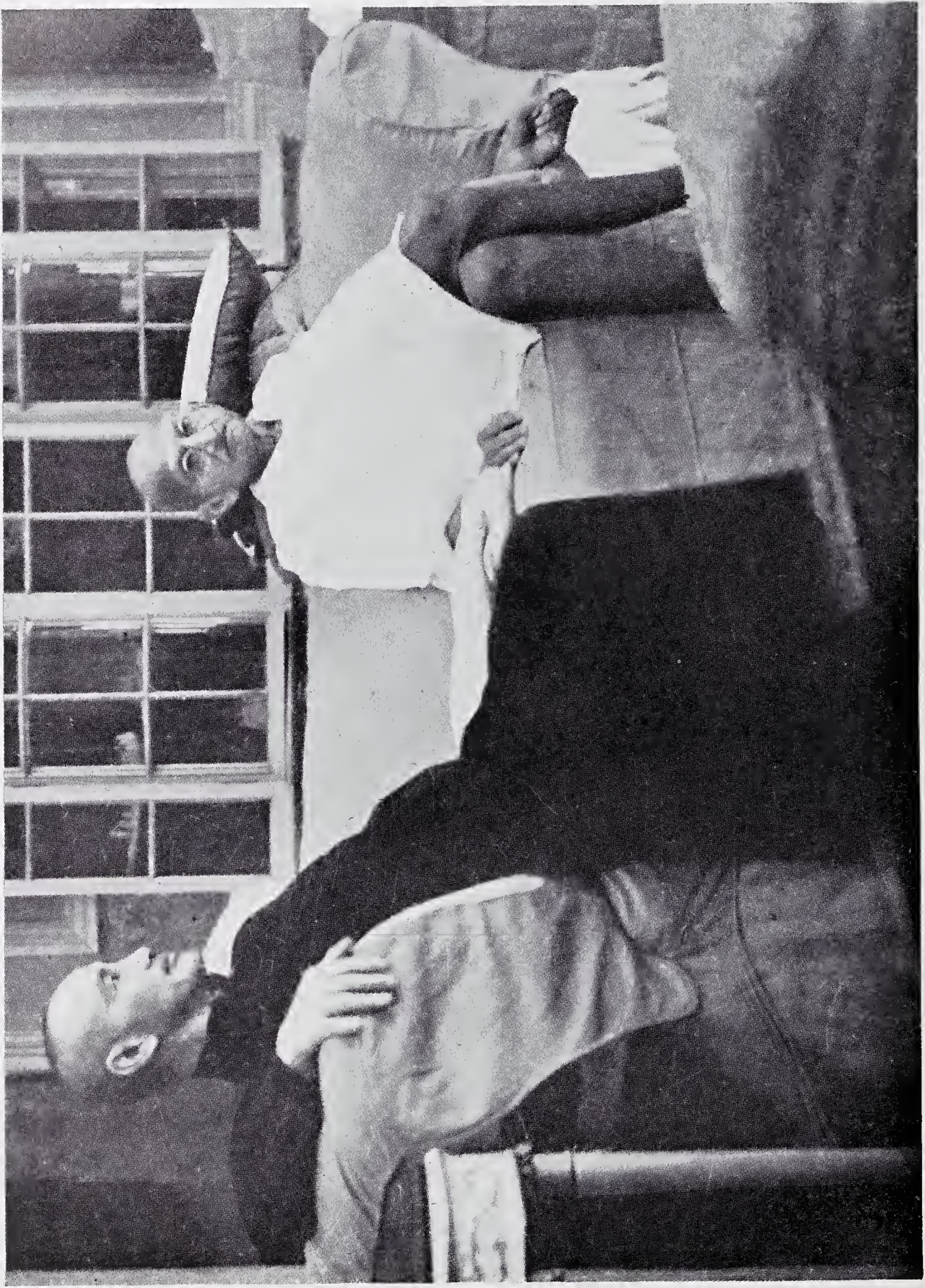


138. His characteristic approach to all the problems. सभी समस्याओं के स्वाभाविक समाधान ।

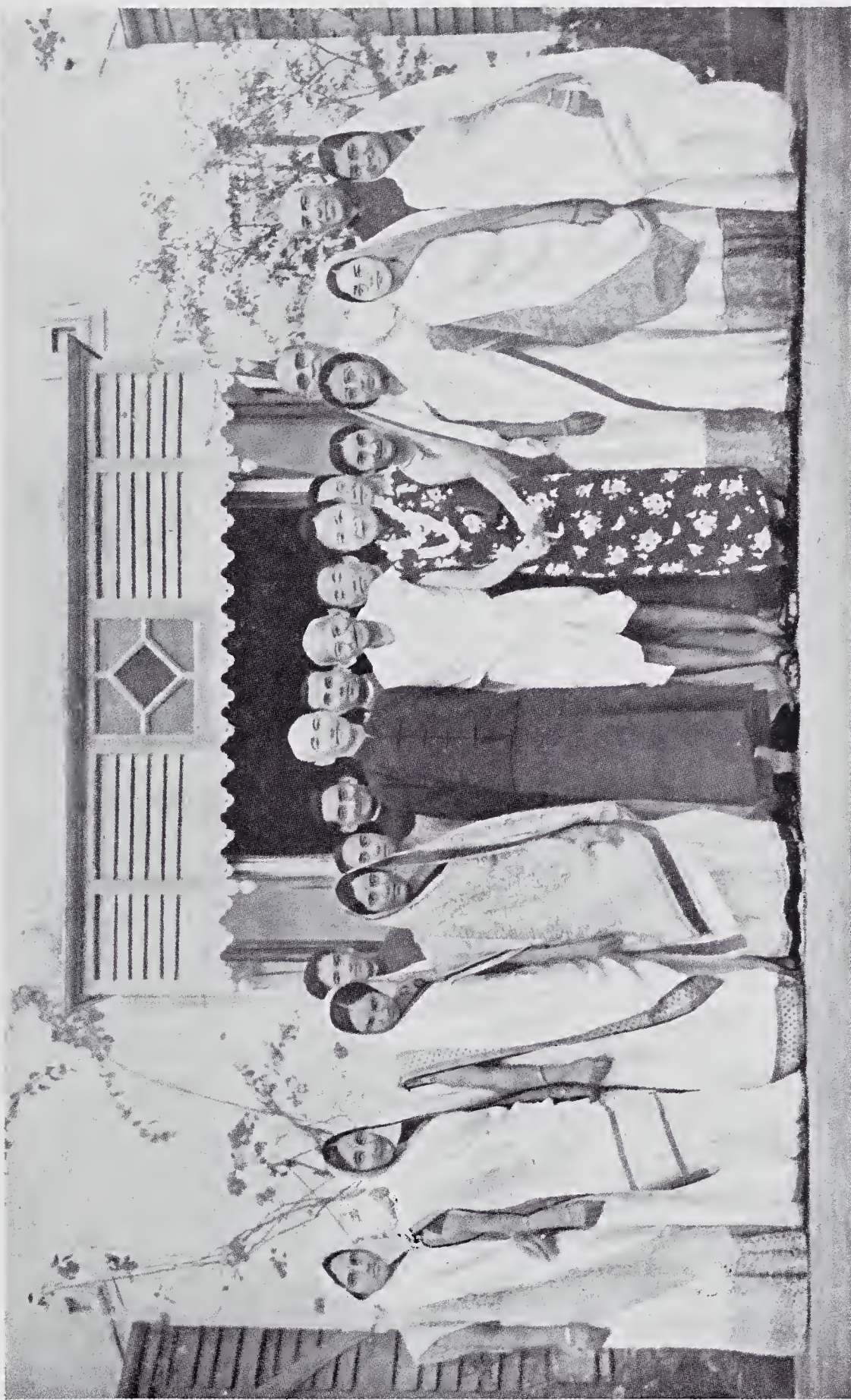


139.

Blessing Vinoba Bhave, the first individual Satyagrahi in October, 1940.
अक्टूबर १९४० में आरम्भ वैयक्तिक सत्याग्रह के प्रथम सत्याग्रही श्री विनोबा भावे को आशिर्वाद ।



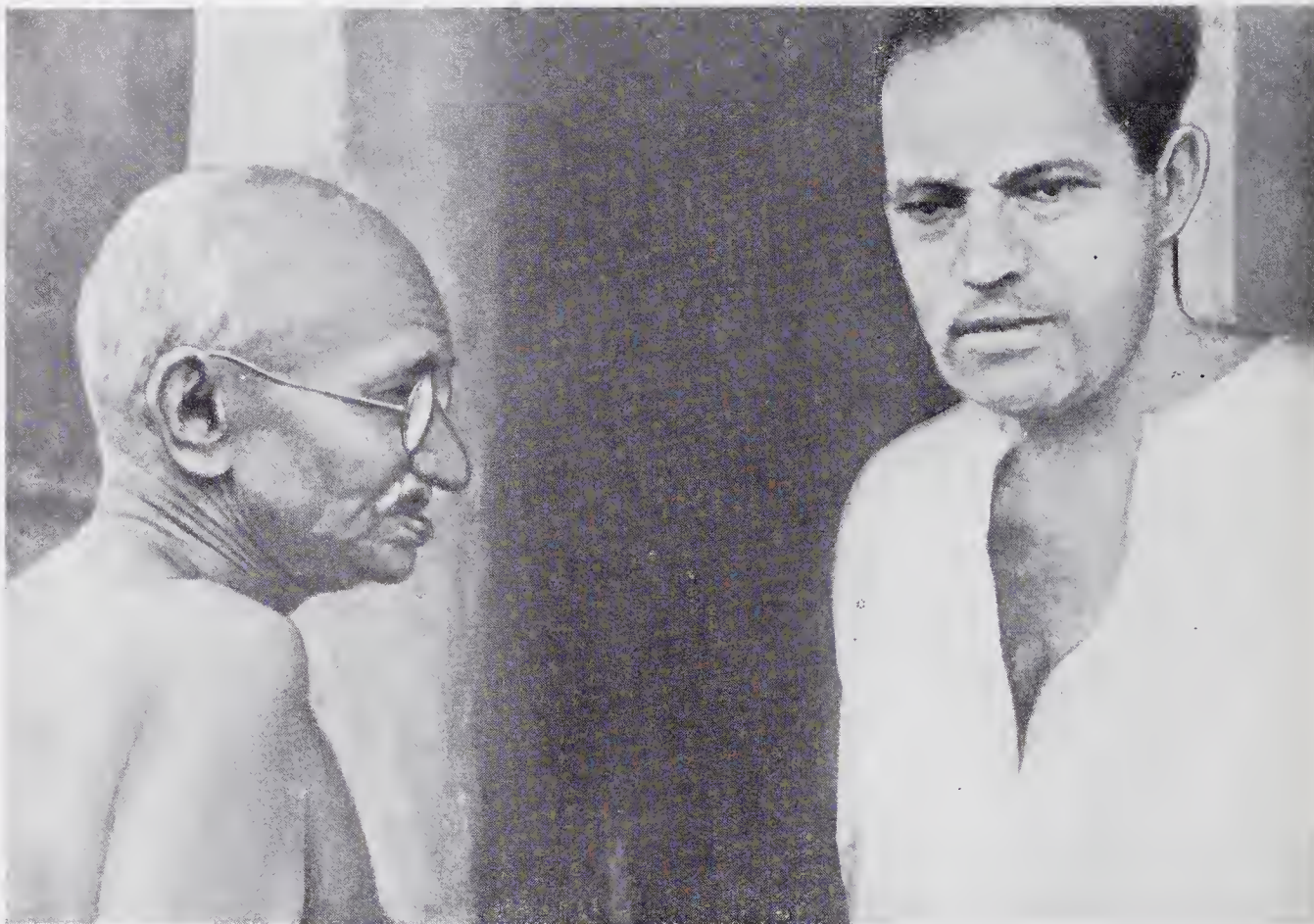
140. With Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in Calcutta, 18th February 1942. सन् १९४२ में कलकत्ता में मार्शल चांग काई शेक के साथ ।



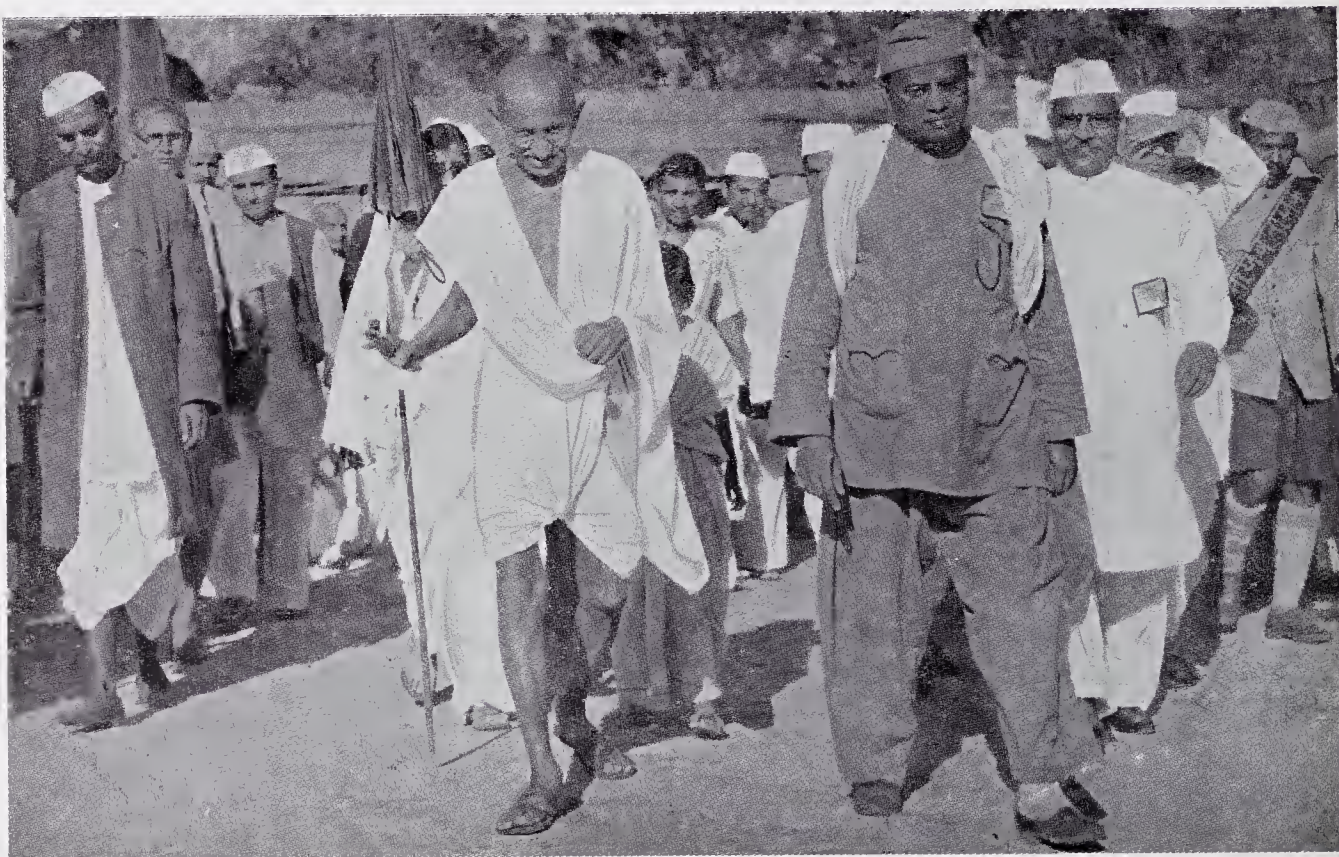
141.

With Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek in front of Birla House, Calcutta.

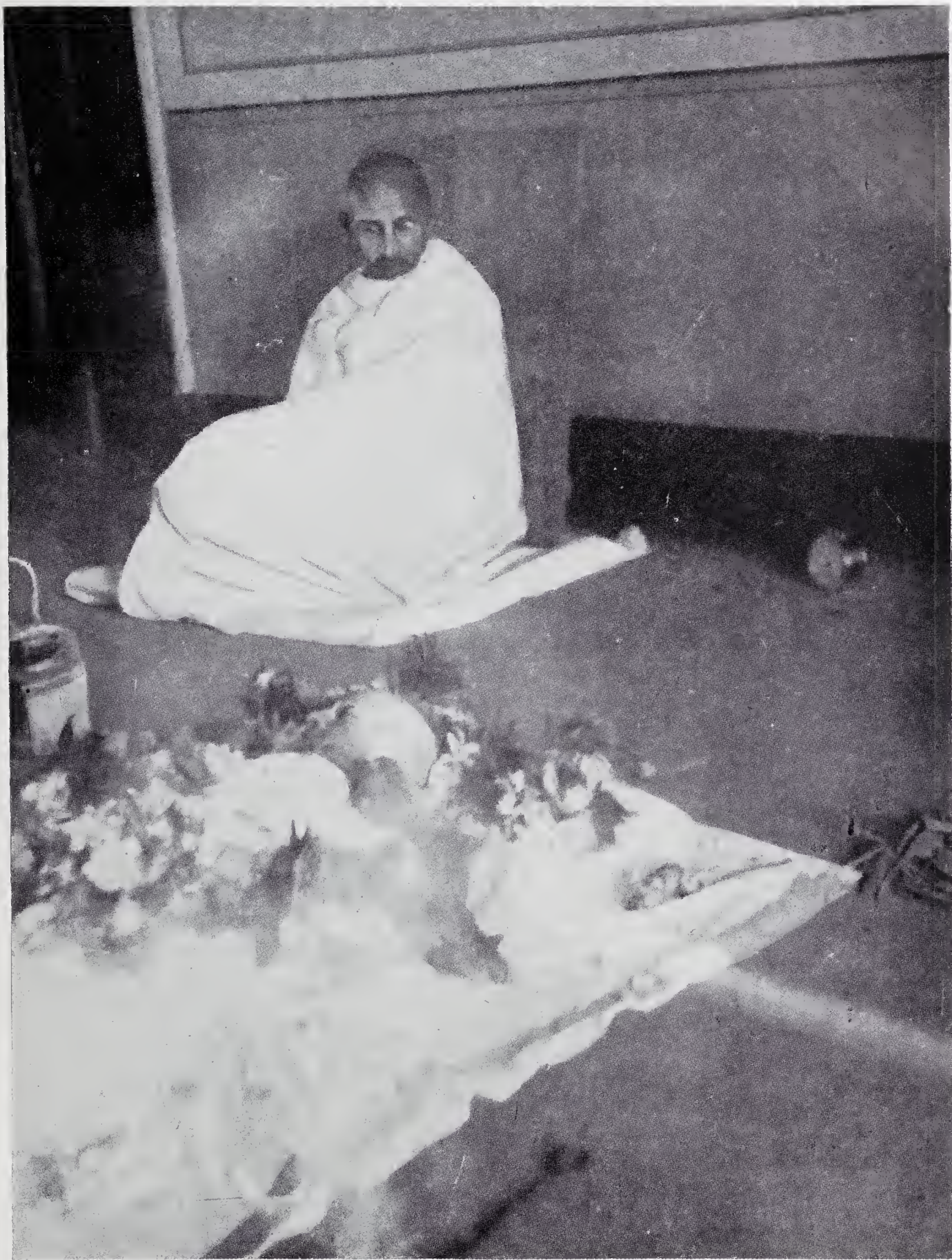
चांग काई शेक तथा उनकी पत्नी के साथ बिड़ला भवन कलकत्ता के सामने ।



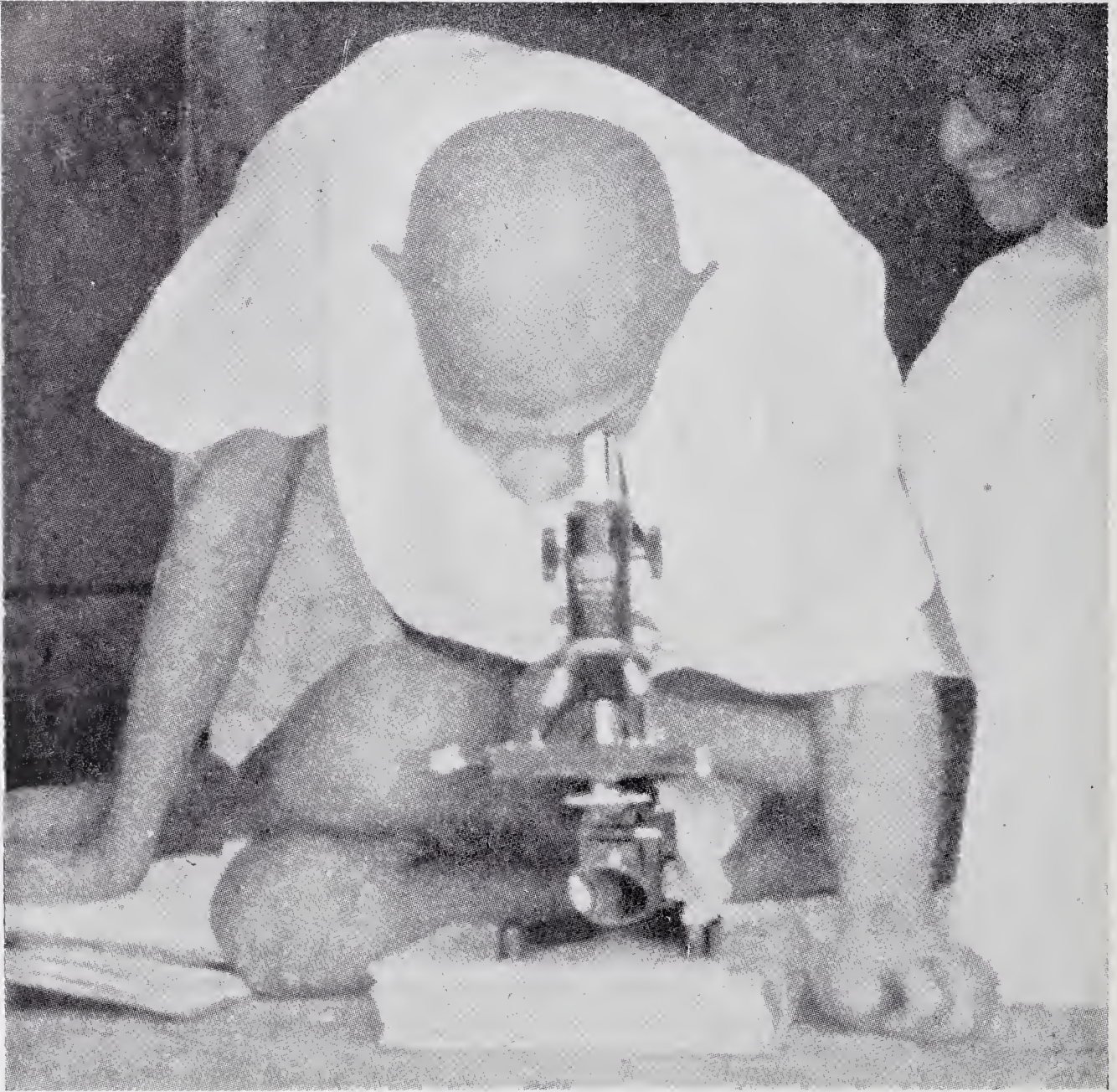
142. With Louis Fischer, an American journalist and author, at Sevagram in June 1942.
अमेरिकन संवाददाता व लेखक लुई फ़िशर के साथ जून १९४२ में सेवाग्राम में ।



143. With Dr. Rajendra Prasad arriving at Ramgarh Congress session.
रामगढ़ कांग्रेस के अधिवेशन में भाग लेने के लिए डा० राजेन्द्रप्रसाद के साथ ।



144. ".....till death us do part." In meditation beside Kasturba in eternal sleep in the
Aga Khan's Palace on the night of February 22-23, 1944.
२२-२३ फरवरी १९४४ की रात में आगाखान पैलेस में कस्तूरबा के शव के पास विचारमग्न महात्माजी ।



145. At the microscope, seeking confirmation of ancient traditions in modern science.
आधुनिक विज्ञान में प्राचीन परम्परा को प्रमाणित करने का प्रयास करते हुए अणुवीक्षण यंत्र पर।

"I am a confirmed believer in naturopathy As for modern appliances I want something that can be multiplied by the thousands. That and that alone can give relief to the villages."

मुझे प्राकृतिक साधनों पर विश्वास है.....आधुनिक उपकरणों का सवाल आने पर...मैं एक ऐसी चीज चाहता हूँ जिसका हजारों गुणा हो सके सिर्फ वही गामों का कष्ट लाघव कर सकेगी...



146. At the telephone.

टेलीफोन से बात करते हुए ।



147.

Regaining health at Juhu beach, Bombay in 1944.

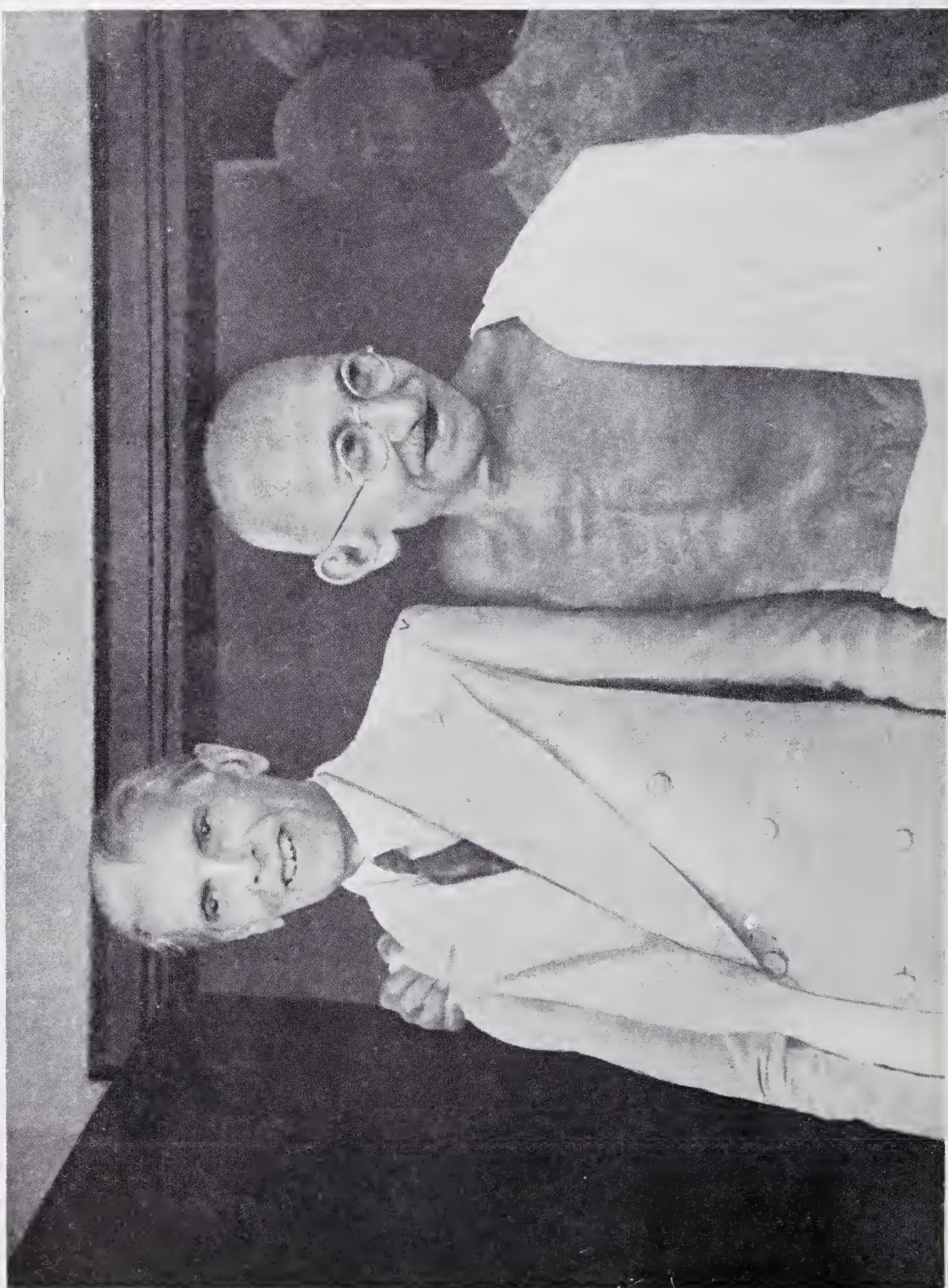
१९४४ में बम्बई के जुहू तट पर स्वास्थ्य-लाभ करते हुए ।



148. Accompanied by Shri G. D. Birla, on his way for a meeting with the Viceroy at Delhi.
 दिल्लीमें वायसराय से मुलाकात के लिये श्री घनश्यामदासजी बिड़ला के साथ जाते हुए।

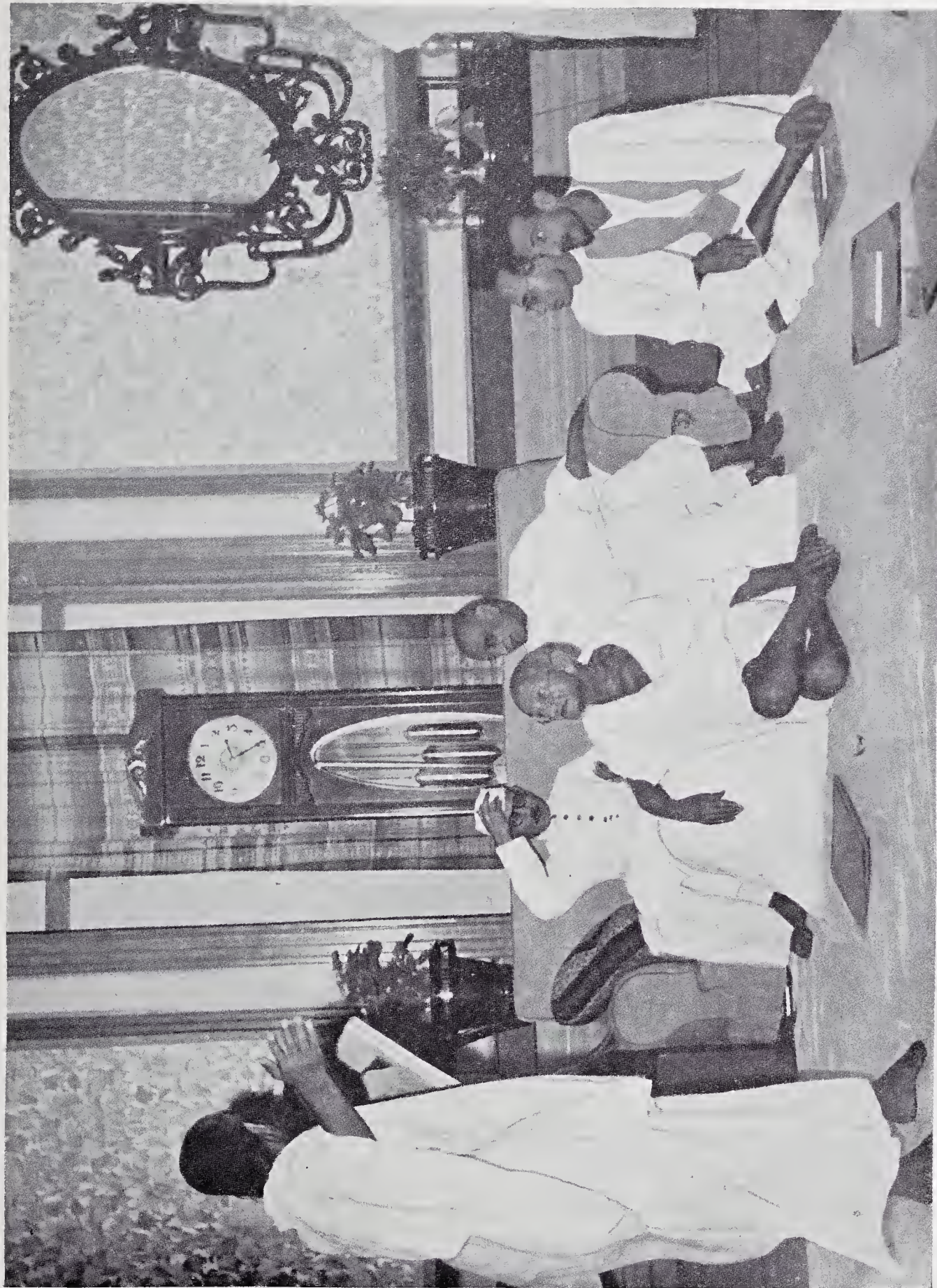


149. Meeting Mr. M. A. Jinnah in Bombay in an effort to secure settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League.
 बम्बई में कांग्रेस और मुस्लिमलीग में समझौता कराने का प्रयत्न करते हुए मि० जिन्ना से बातचीत।



150. With Mr. M. A. Jinnah in Bombay, September 13th 1944.

बम्बई में १३ सितम्बर १९४४ को मि० एम० ए० जिन्ना के साथ ।

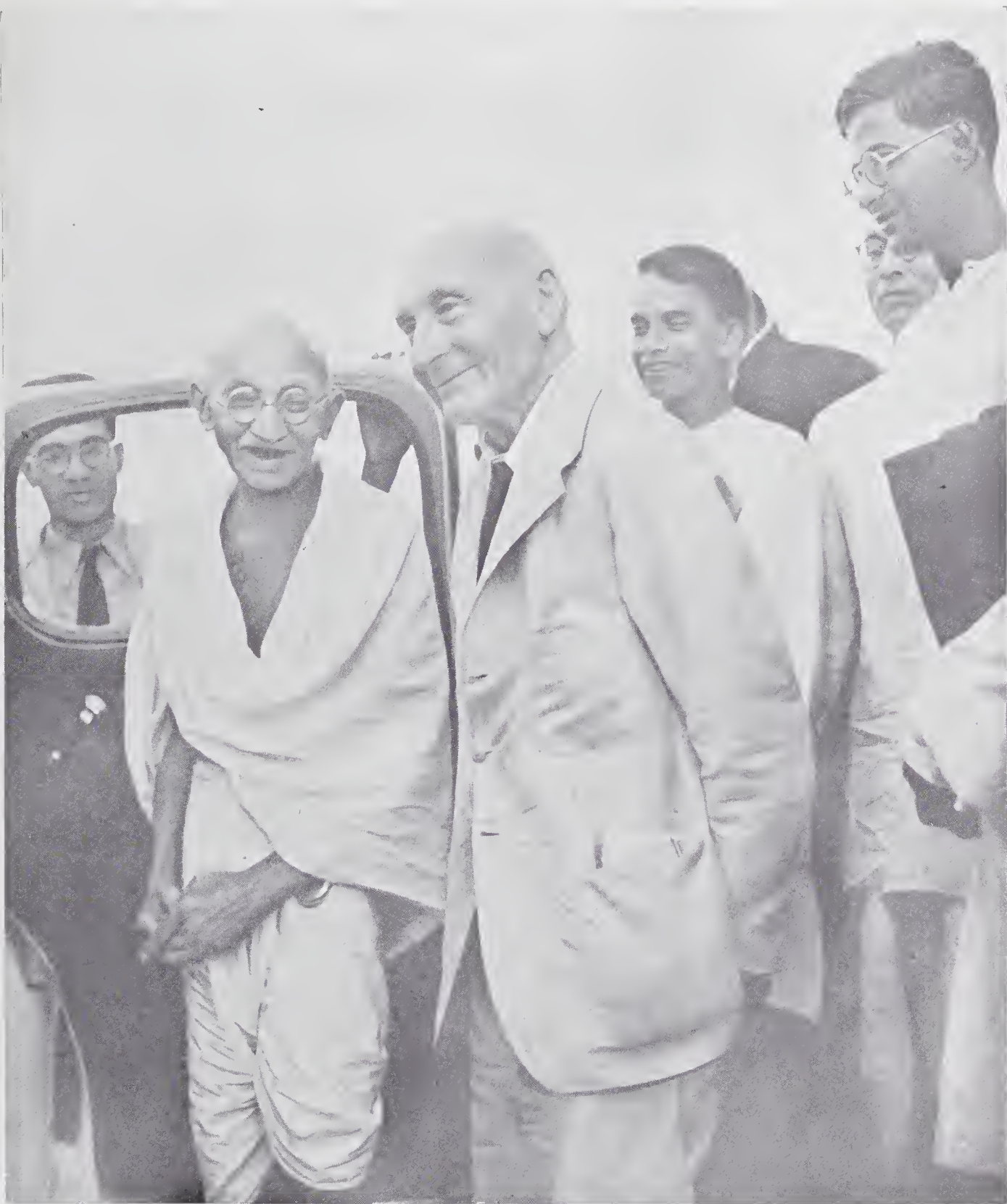


Meeting the Congress Workers after their release in 1945 in the Birla house, Bombay.



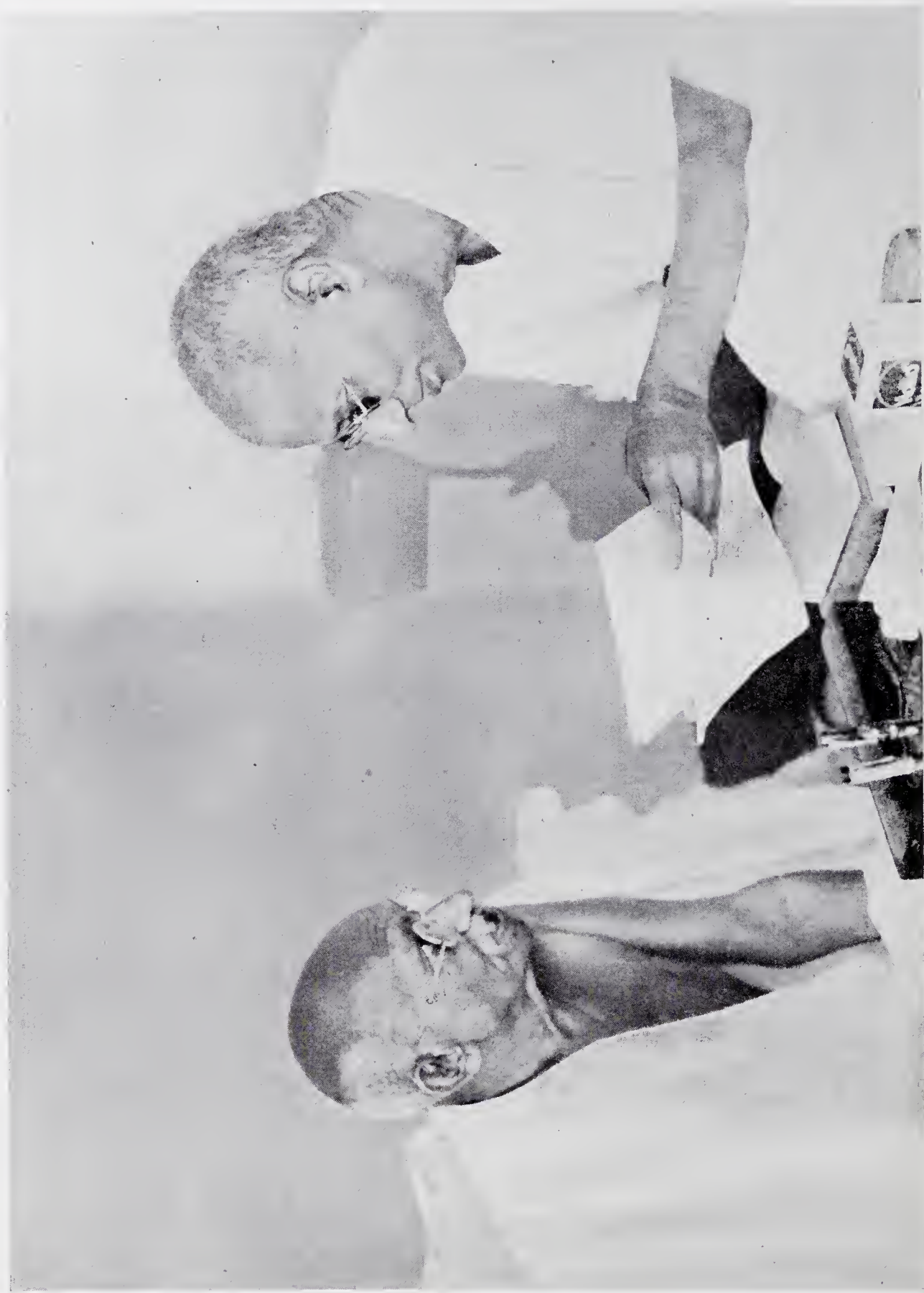
152. Meeting H. E. Mr. R. G. Casey in the year 1945. Being his day of silence, he gives a written reply to the Bengal Governor's questions.

सन् १९४५ में बंगाल के गवर्नर मि० केसी से, भेंट । मौनदिवस के कारण गवर्नर को प्रश्नों का लिखित उत्तर देते हुए ।



153. With Lord Pethick-Lawrence, who as Secretary of State for India did much to bring Mahatma Gandhi's ideals to fruition.

भूतपूर्व भारत मन्त्रि लार्ड पेट्रिक लारेन्स के साथ, जिन्होंने महात्मा गांधीजी के आदेश को सफल करने की बहुत चेष्टा की ।



154. With C. Rajagopalachari, one of his closest fellow-workers, discussing the "Rajaji formula" for settlement of basic problems of the country in the year 1945.

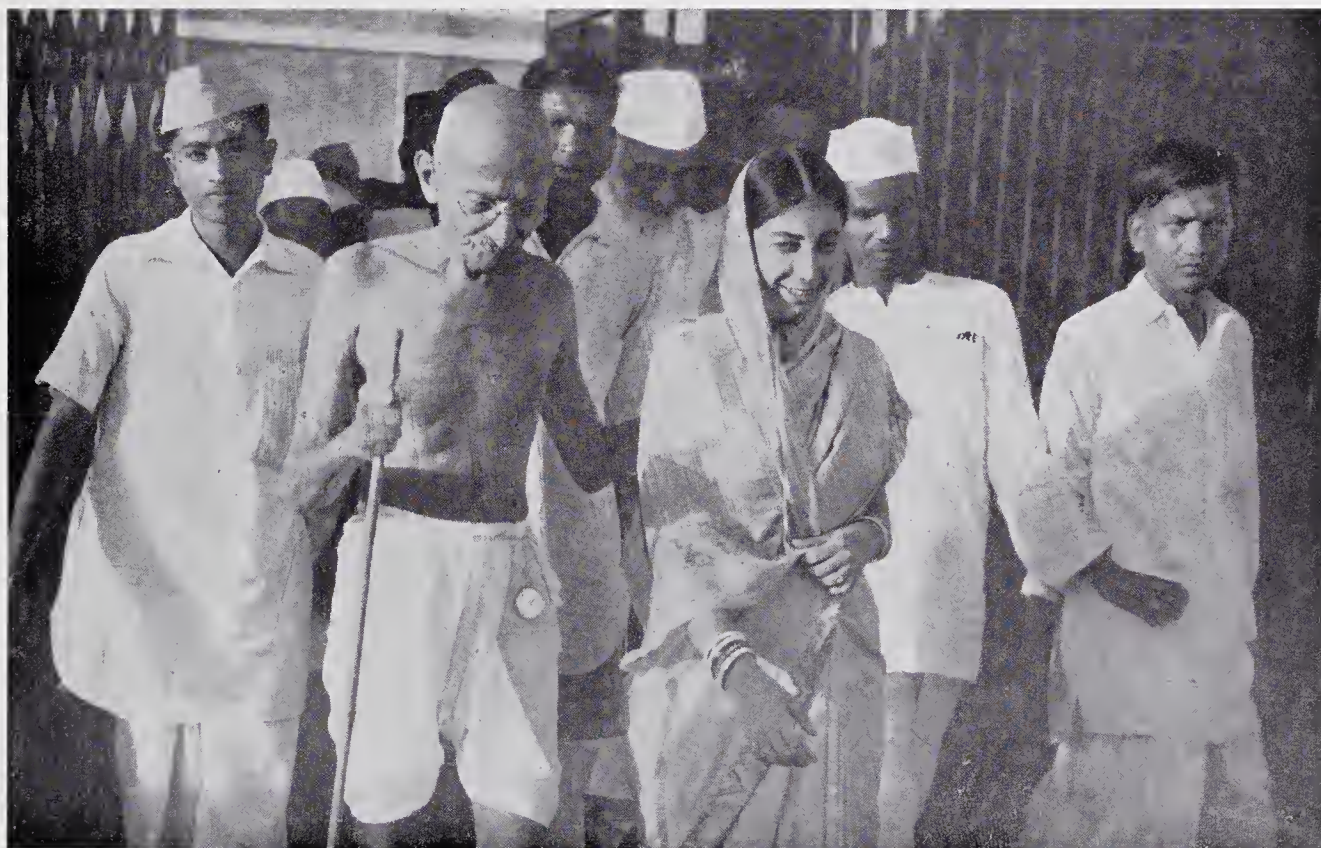
अपने अन्यतम सहयोगी श्री राजगोपालाचारी के साथ हिन्दू-मुस्लिम एकता के उपाय पर वादविवाद करते हुए सन् १९४५ ईस्वी में ।



155.

With the boys of the sweepers' colony, Delhi in 1946.

दिल्ली में भगी बस्ती के बच्चों के साथ।



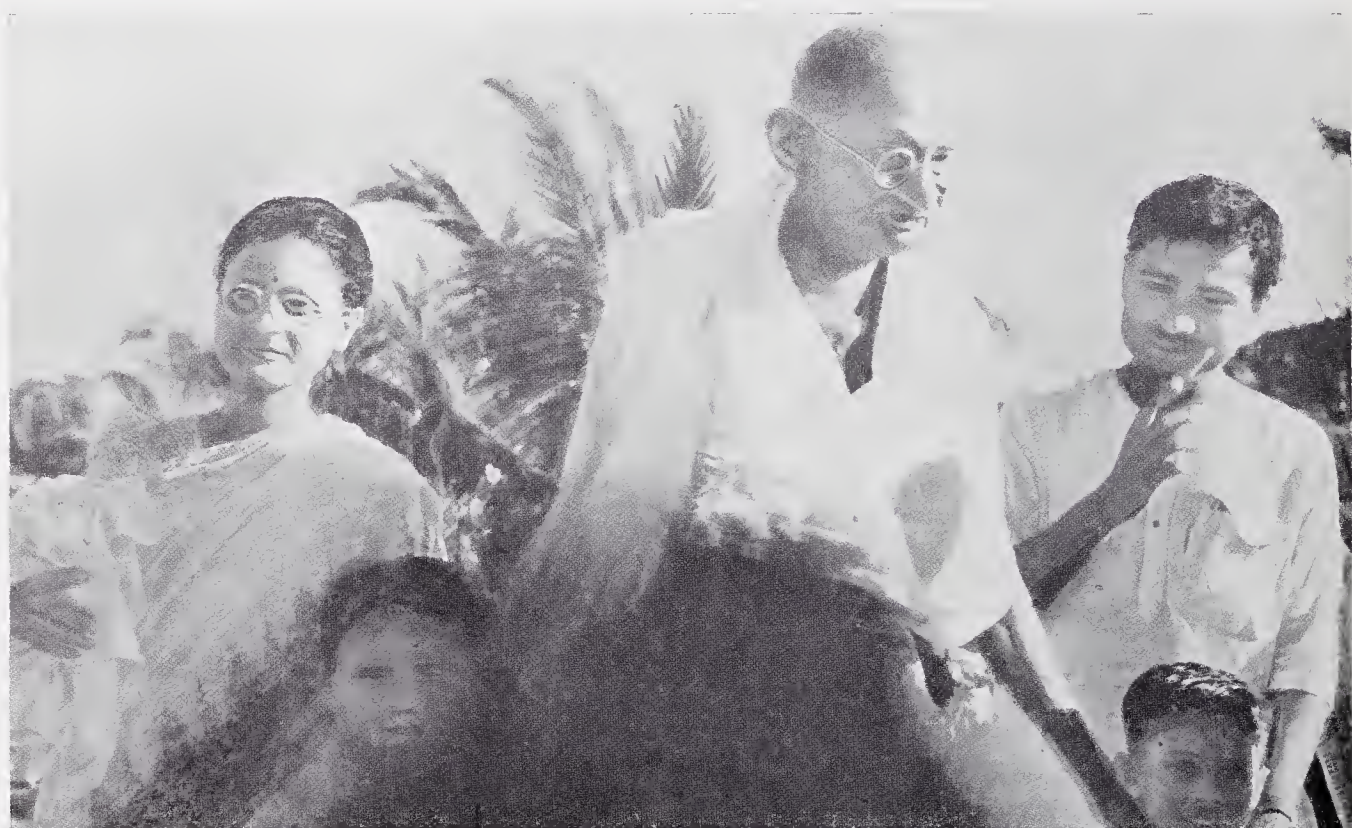
156.

Leaving the sweepers colony on the way to Viceregal Lodge for another interview with the Viceroy.

भंगा बस्ती से लार्ड माउंटबैटन से फिर एक बार मिलने के लिए वायसराय, भवन जाते समय।



157. 158. During his tour of Madras in January 1946. मद्रास भ्रमण के समय जनवरी १९४६ में।





159.

With Sir Stafford Cripps on 2nd April 1946.

२ अप्रैल १९४६ को सर स्टैफर्ड क्रिप्स के साथ ।

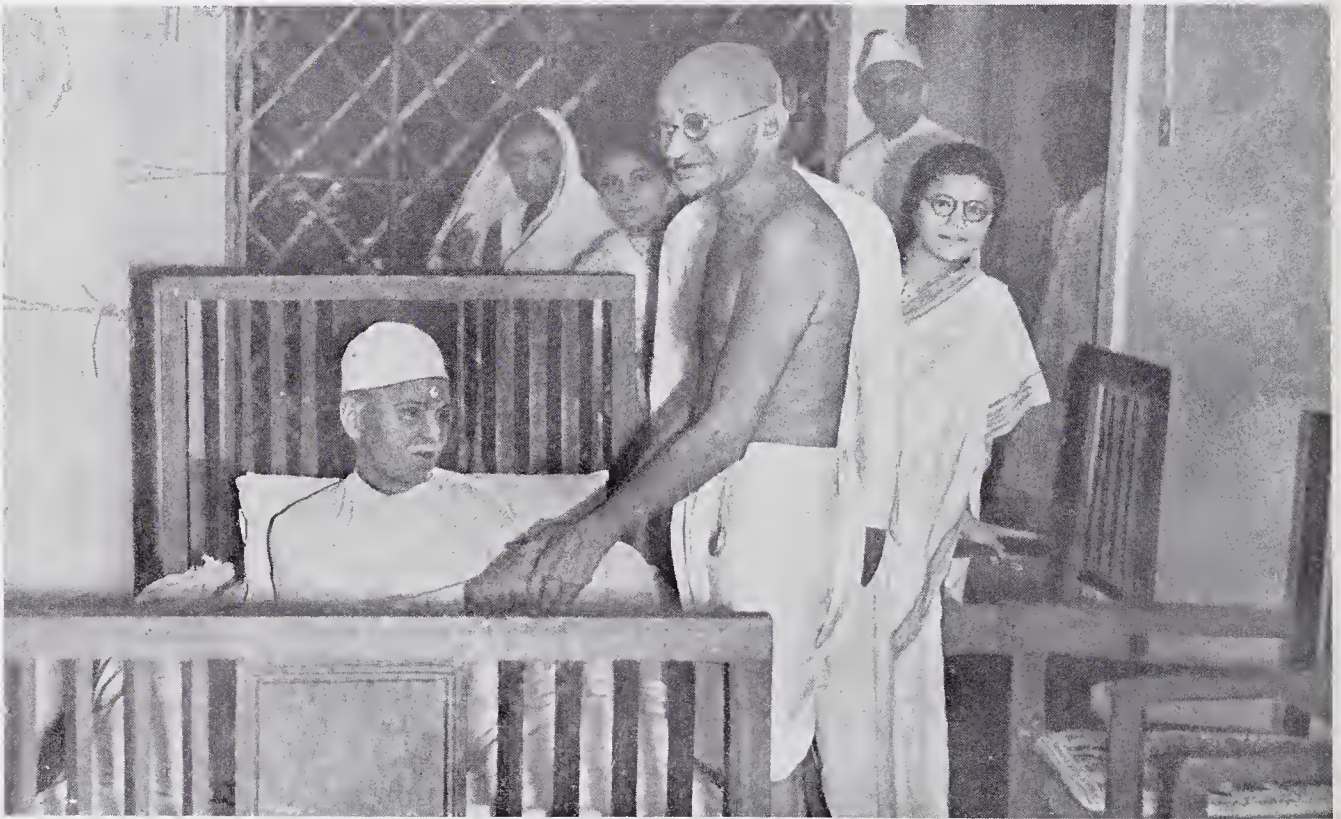


160. With Lord Listowel, under-Secretary of State for India.

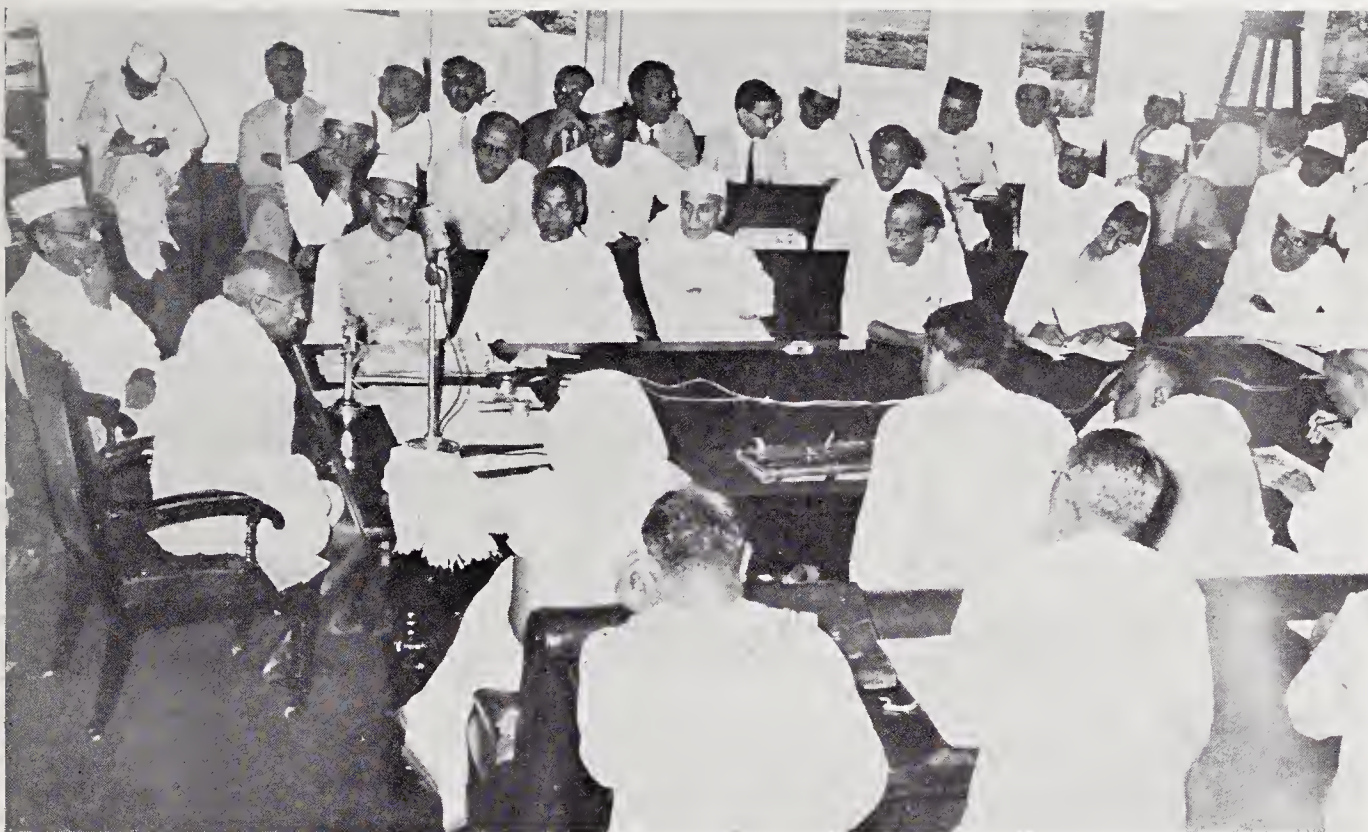
लार्ड लिस्टोवल के साथ ।



161. With the Members of the British Parliamentary Delegation in January 1946.
जनवरी सन् १९४६ में ब्रिटिश पार्लमेण्टरी मण्डल के साथ ।



162. His last meeting with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. पंडित मदन मोहन मालवीय से अन्तिम भेंट ।



163.

Addressing the conference of Education Ministers of all Provinces of India at Poona, in the year 1946.

१९४६ में भारत के सभी प्रान्तों के शिक्षा मन्त्रियों की कान्फेन्स में भाषण देते हुए।



164.

Discussing a problem with Smt. Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

श्रीमती विजयलक्ष्मी पंडित के साथ वार्तालाप करते हुए।



165.

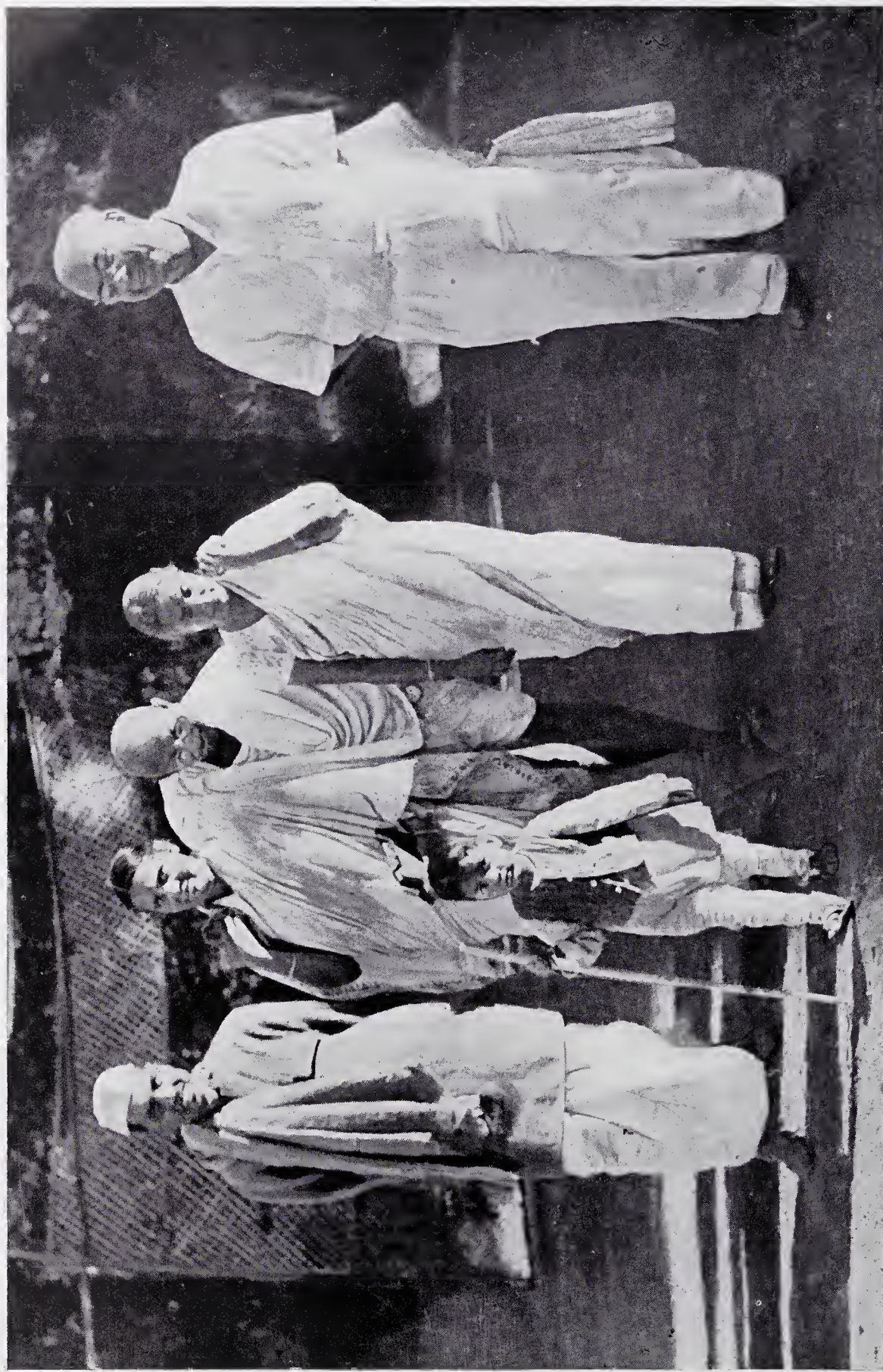
With former U. S. President Herbert Hoover on 25th April 1946.

२५ अप्रैल १९४६ को अमेरिका के भूतपूर्व प्रेसिडेण्ट हर्बर्ट हूवर के साथ ।



Dr. SUTAN Shariar of Indonesia being introduced by Pandit Nehru.

महात्मा जो से इण्डोनेशिया के डा० सुलताना सहरीयार का परिचय पं० नेहरू करा रहे हैं।

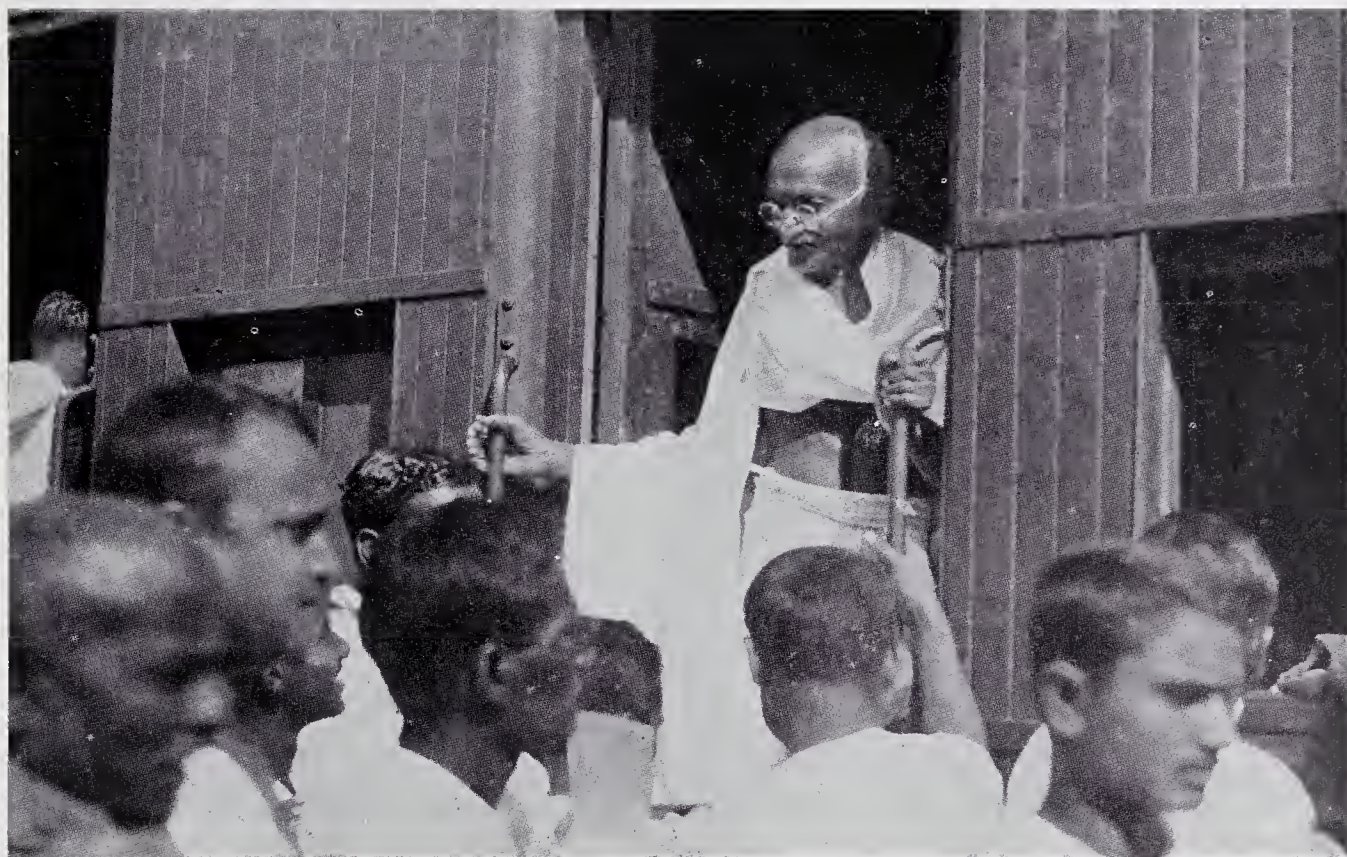


167. The leader led.

सर्वमान्य नेता का प्रथ-प्रदर्शक ।



168-169. Arriving at Sodepur, Calcutta, after the Great Calcutta Calamity.
 नृशंस कलकत्ता हत्याकाण्ड के बाद सोदपुर, कलकत्ता में आगमन ।





170.

An evening walk on the Trunk Road, Barrackpore.

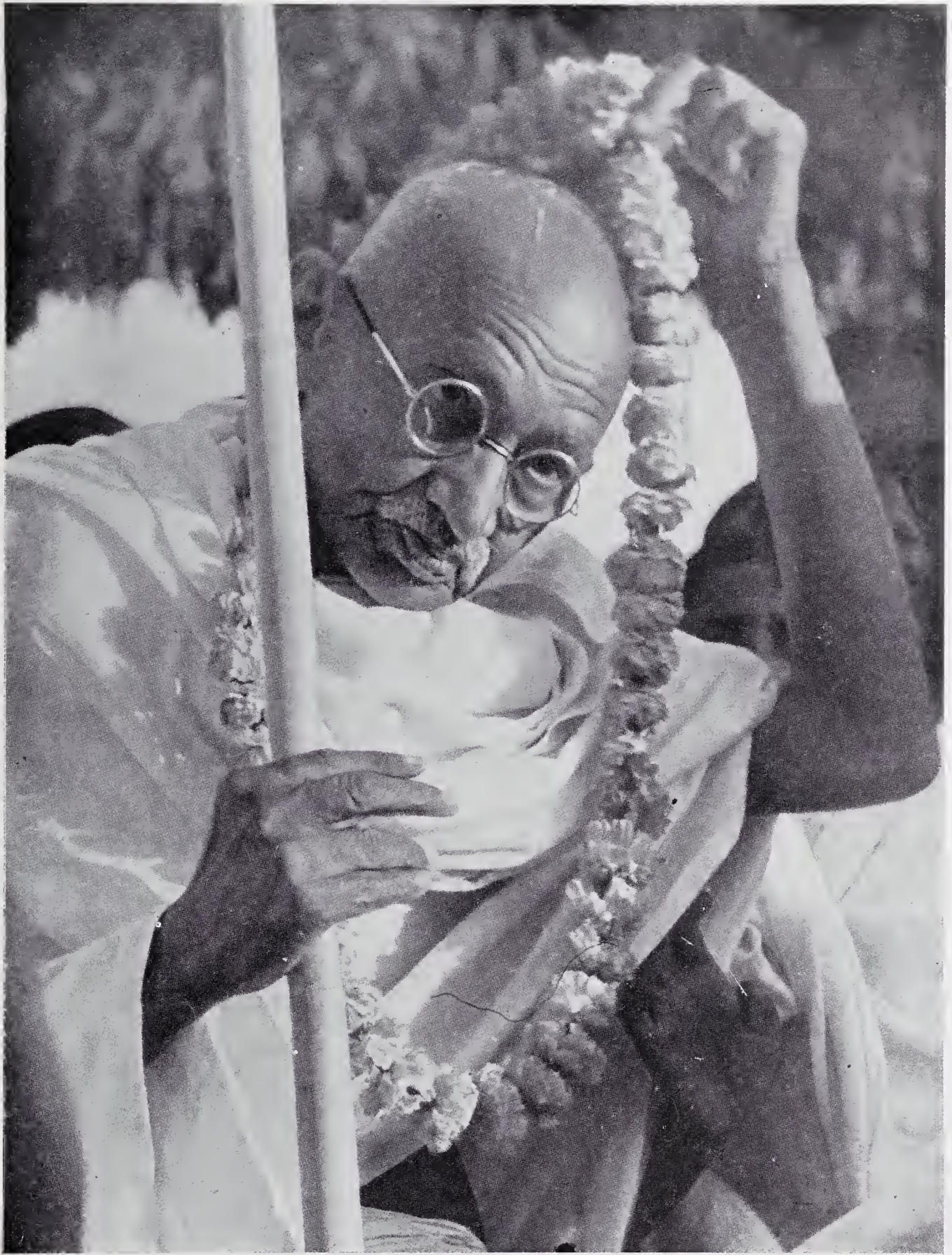
बैरकपुर गाडटंक रोड पर शाम को टहलते हुए।



171.

Addressing the prayer meeting at Sodepur.

सोदपुर में प्रार्थना सभा में भाषण देते हुए।



172. At the eve of his life, barefooted and armed only with love for mankind and faith in God and truth, he went in November 1946 to Noakhali to restore peace, mutual harmony and respect between the Communities there.

१९४६ के नवम्बर महीने में उभय सम्प्रदायों के बीच शान्ति, सद्भावना व सहयोग उत्पन्न कराने का व्रत लेकर महात्माजी ने नंगे पैर नोआखाली का यात्रा की ।



173-174. A barefooted pilgrim in East Bengal.

पूर्व बंगाल में नंगे पाव यात्रा ।

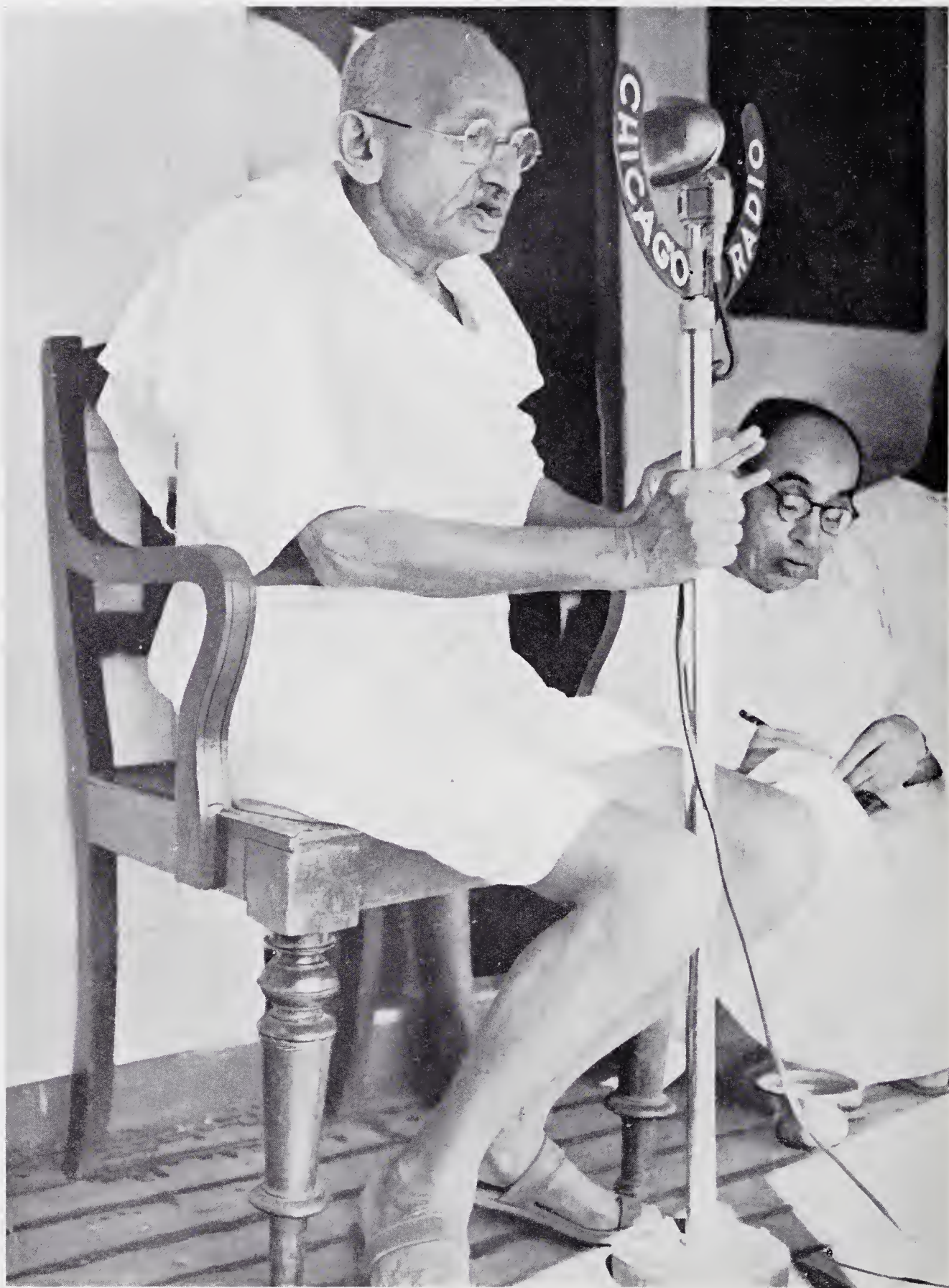




175.

Addressing a meeting of the people of Noakhali in 1947.

१९४७ में नोअखाली की जनता के समक्ष भाषण देते हुए।



176. Preaching communal harmony at Noakhali.

नोआखाली में साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव का प्रचार ।



177.

Leaving the village barge in East Bengal in 1947.

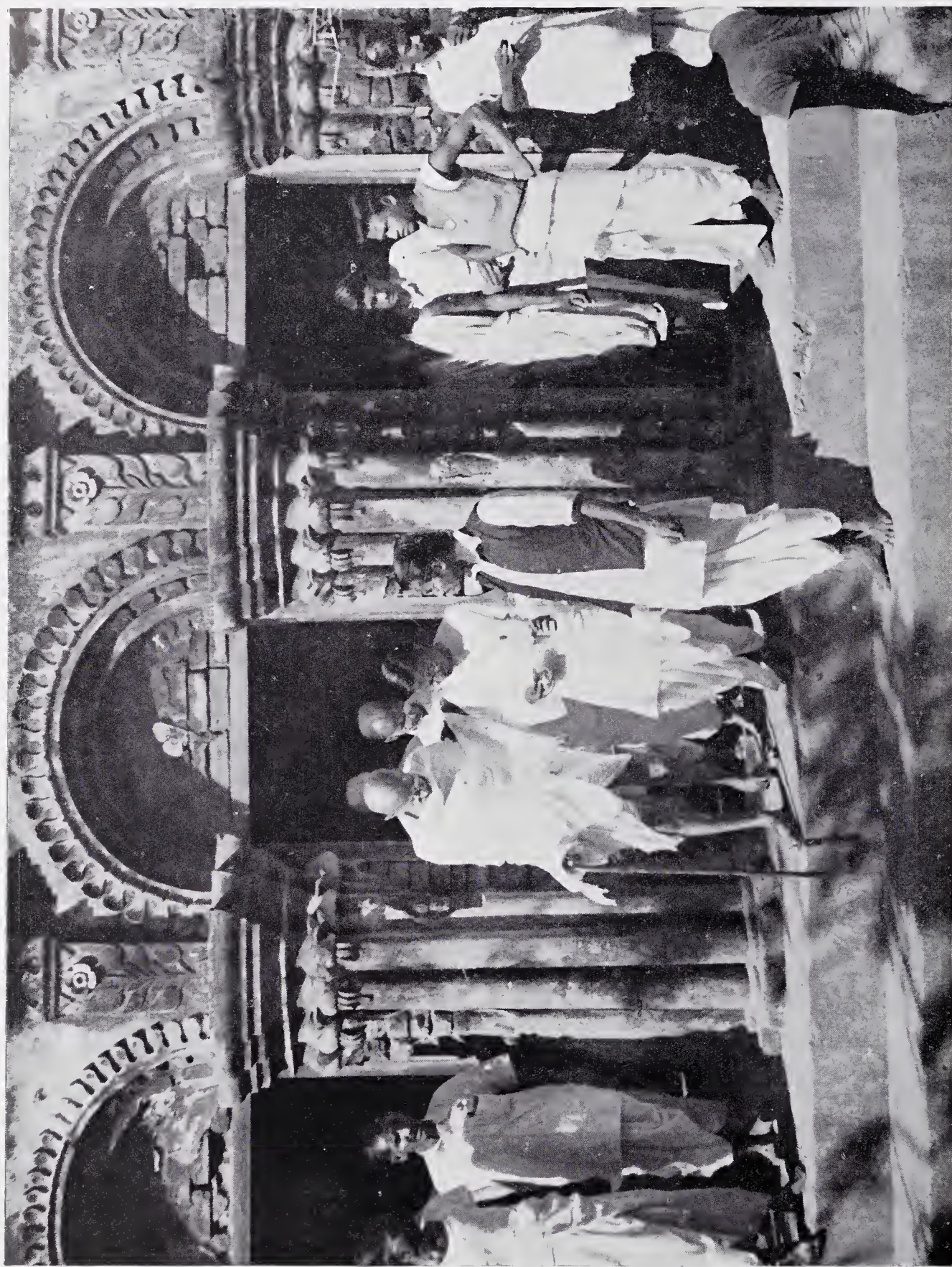
सन् १९४७ में पूर्वी बंगाल के गांव में नौका से उतरते हुए।



178.

Offering a glass of water to a muslim woman who fasted for Hindu-Muslim Unity.

नोआखाली की एक मुसलिम महिला को एक ग्लास जल देते हुए। उसने नोआखाली में हिन्दू-मुस्लिम एकता के लिये अनशन किया था।



179. House-to-house mission in Noakhali.

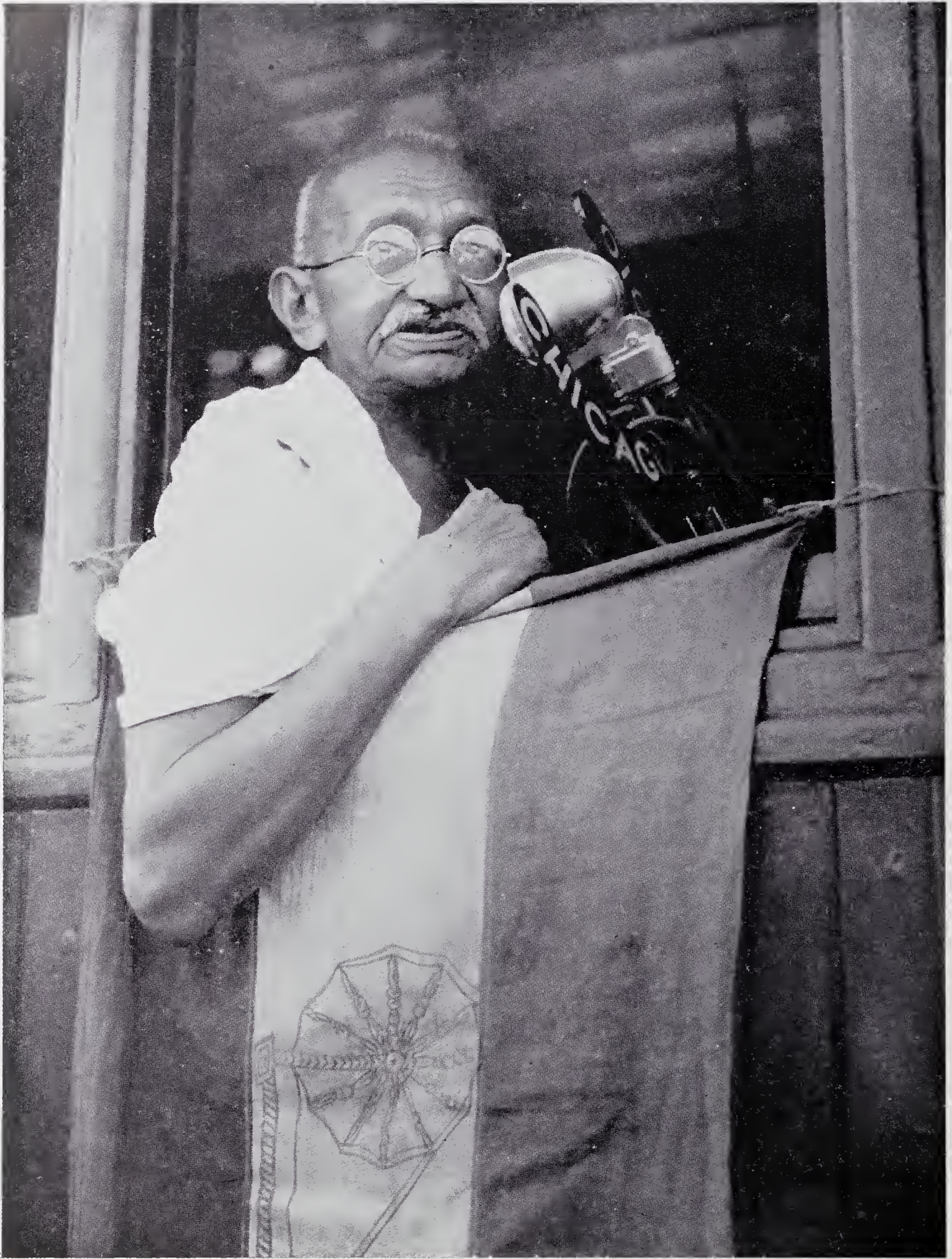
नोआखाली में घर घर शान्ति प्रचार के समय ।



180.

Offering solace and consolation to a grief-stricken woman of Noakhali.

नोआखाली को पीड़ित और शोक सन्तप्त महिलाओं को धर्य बंधा रहे हैं।



181.

As a tireless worker for peace, addressing a meeting at a train halt.
शान्ति के अथक पुजारी महात्मा गांधी ट्रेन रुकने पर समवेत जनता को उपदेश दे रहे हैं।



182. The lonely pilgrim.

एकला चलो, एकला चलो.....



183. At a conference after peace was restored at Noakhali. नोआखाली में शान्ति के बाद सम्मेलन।



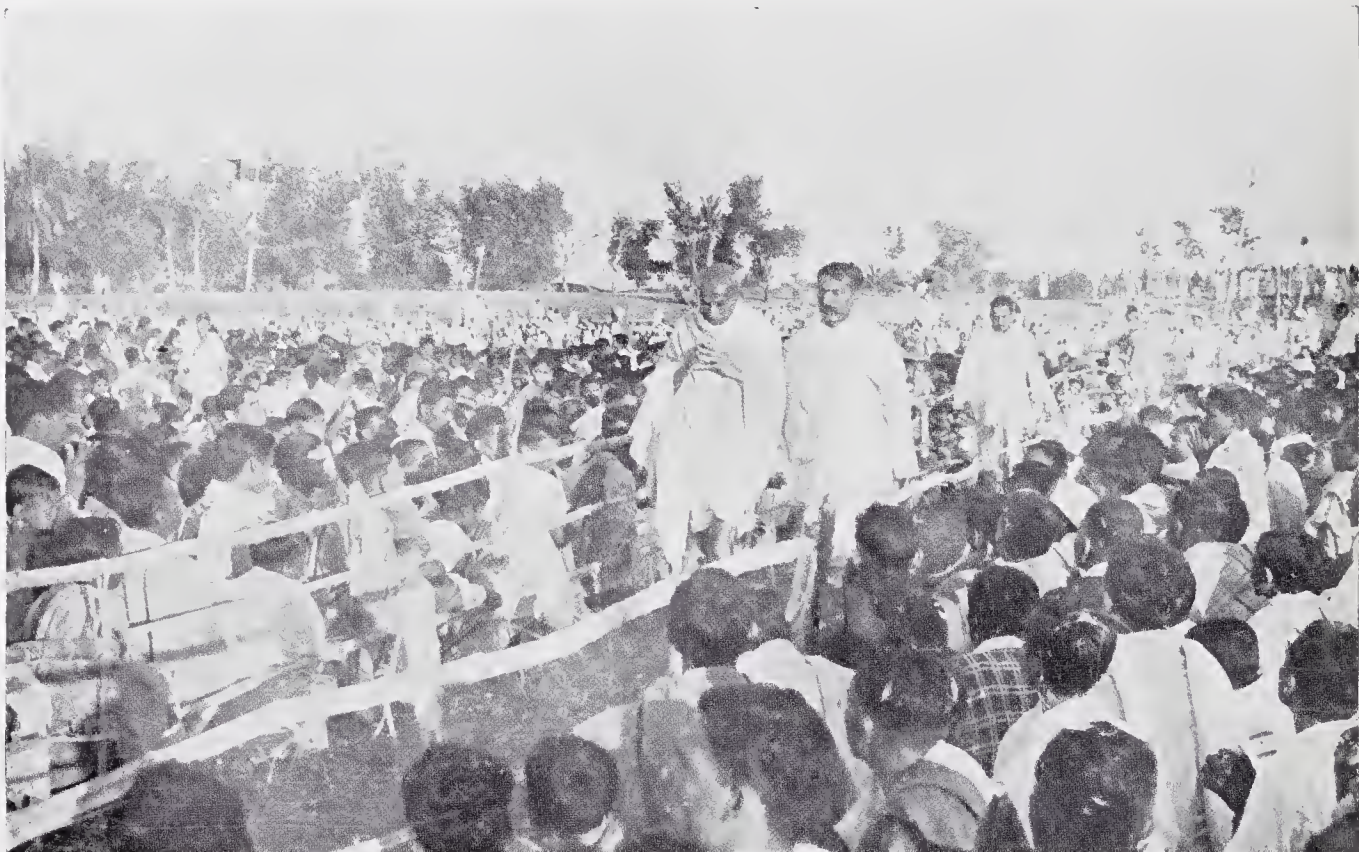
184. Listening to the village Chief at Noakhali. नोआखाली में गांव के मुखिया की बातें सुनते हुए।



185.

Crossing the Brahmaputra river on his visit to Assam in 1947.

सन् १९४७ में अपने आसाम भ्रमण के अवसर पर ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी पार करते हुए।



186. Public welcome at Mahisadal, Midnapur in 1947. १९४७ में मिदनापुर के महिषादल में स्वागत ।

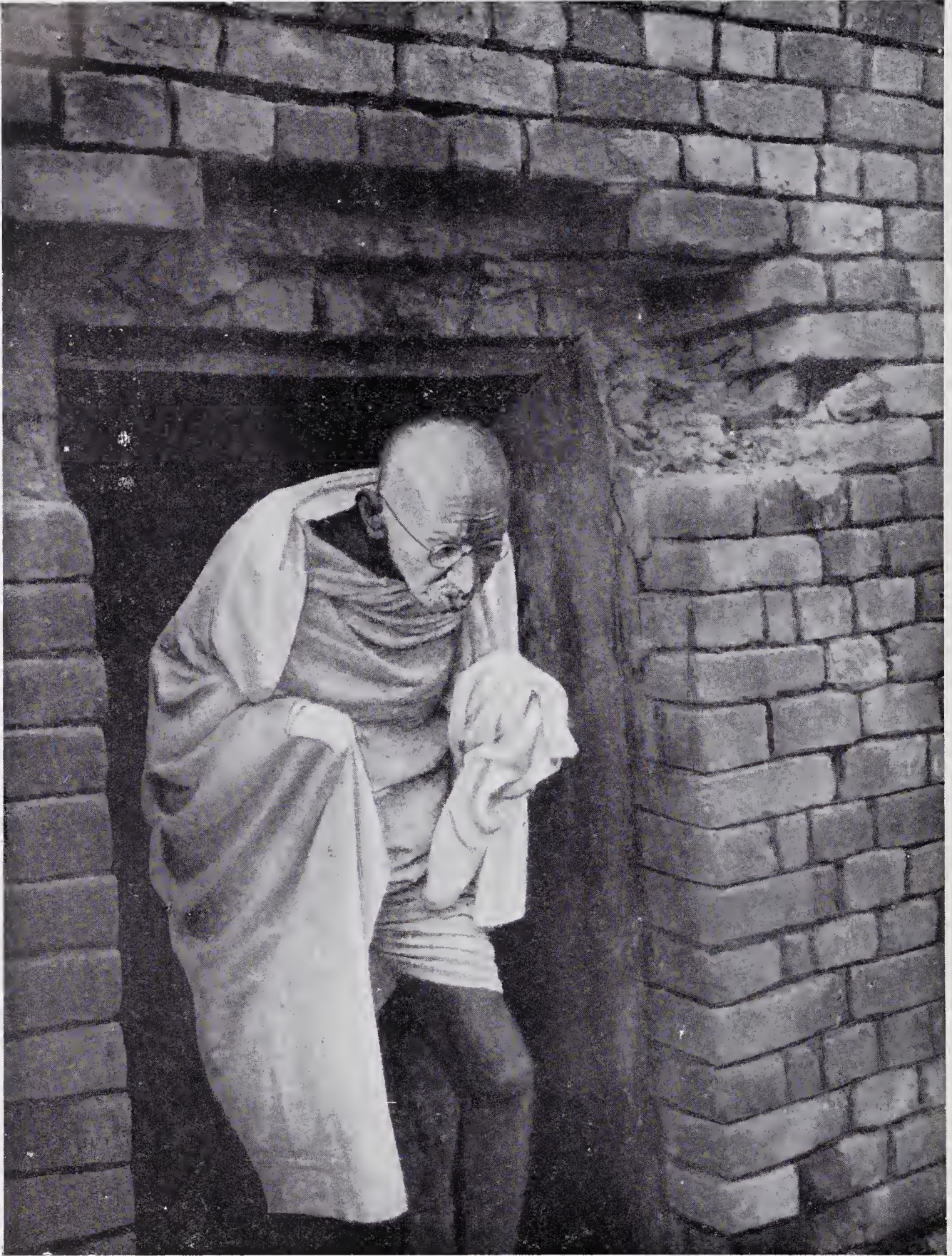


187. Traversing the footpaths of Assam in 1947.
१९४७ में आसाम में पैदल प्रचार ।



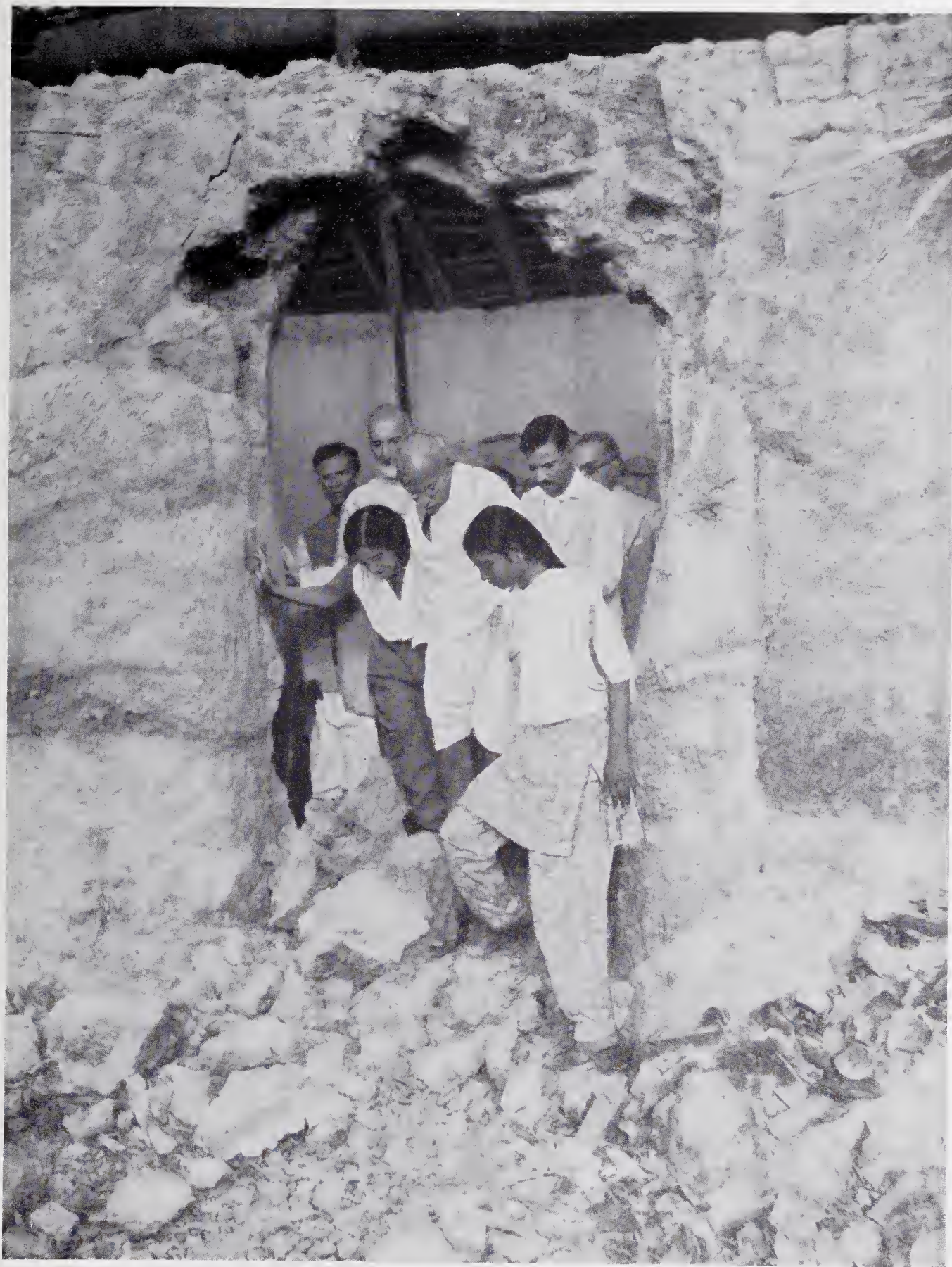
Walking, thinking, praying, preaching.

અમળ, ચિન્તન, પ્રાર્થના, ઉપદેશ ।



189. Inspecting riot damage at Noakhali. His inner suffering over the calamity which befell the people of Noakhali is noticeable on his face.

मानव की वृशंसता पर क्षोभ—चेहरे पर विषाद की गंभीर छाया



190.

Surveying a wrecked house during the riots in Bihar.

बिहार के दंगे में क्षतिग्रस्त मकान की निरीक्षण करते हुए।



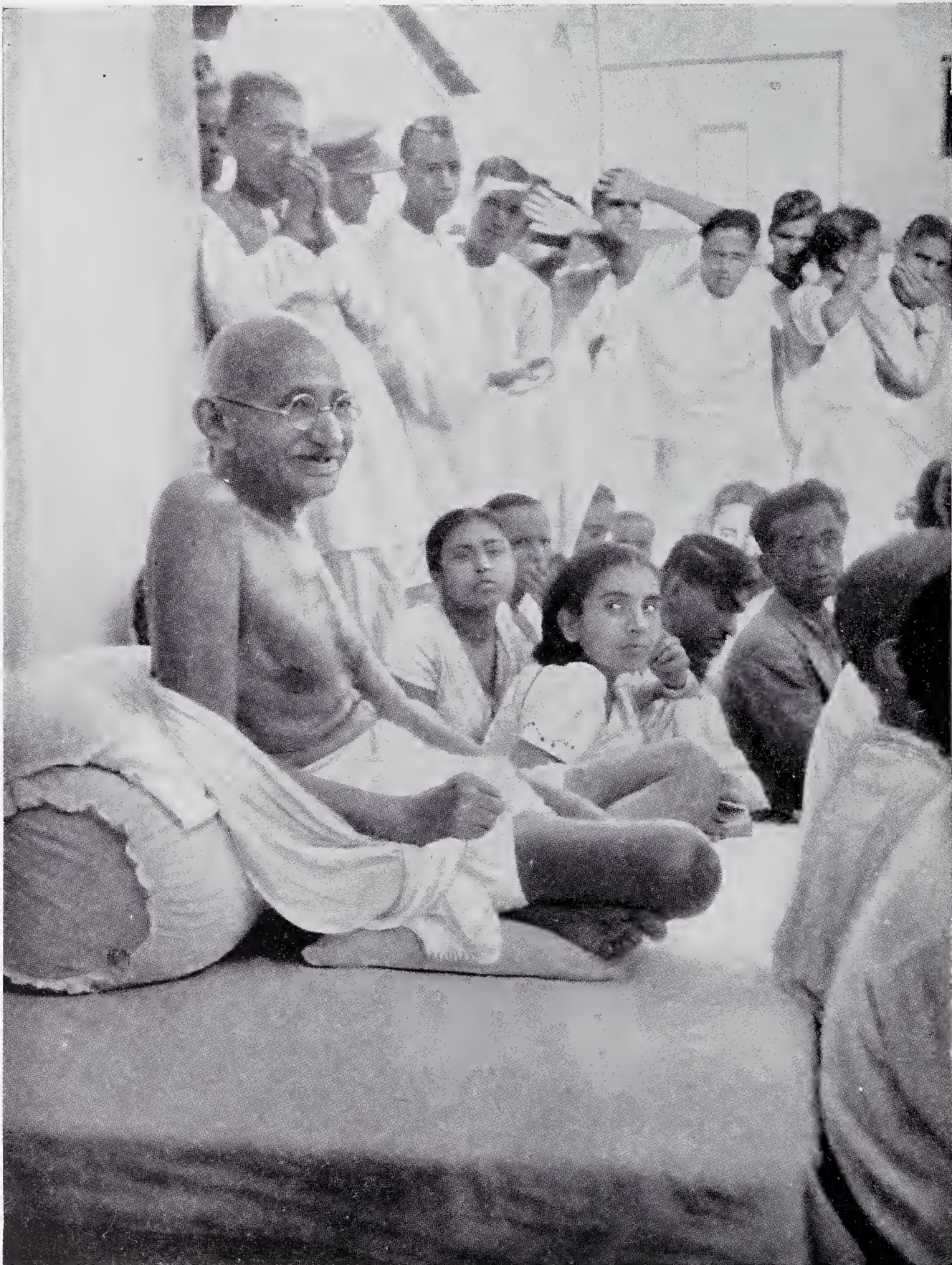
191. Kindling the light of love amongst his followers everywhere. मिदनापुर में प्रेम ज्योति जगा रहे हैं ।



192.

He maintained constant touch with the whole nation.

सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र के साथ उन्होंने सदैव सम्पर्क कायम रखा ।



193.

Always an optimist. Gandhiji's sense of humour never failed.

पूर्ण आशावादी गांधी जी की हास्यप्रियता कभी कम न हुई ।



194. Crossing a village bridge in Bihar during his peace mission.

बिहार में शान्त प्रचार के समय गाँव के पुल को पार करते हुए।



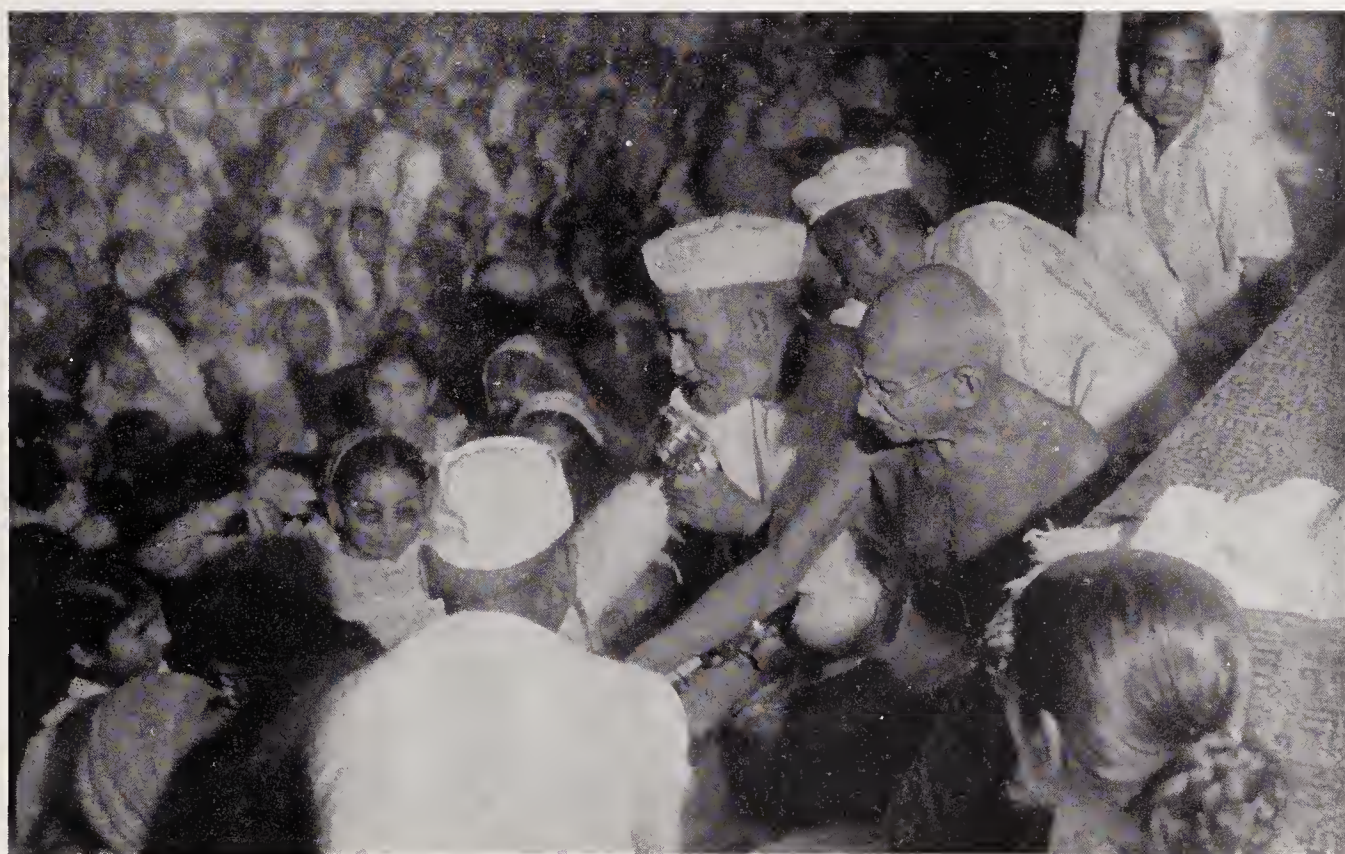
195. With Khan Abdur Ghaffar Khan.

खां अब्दुल गफ्फार खां के साथ ।



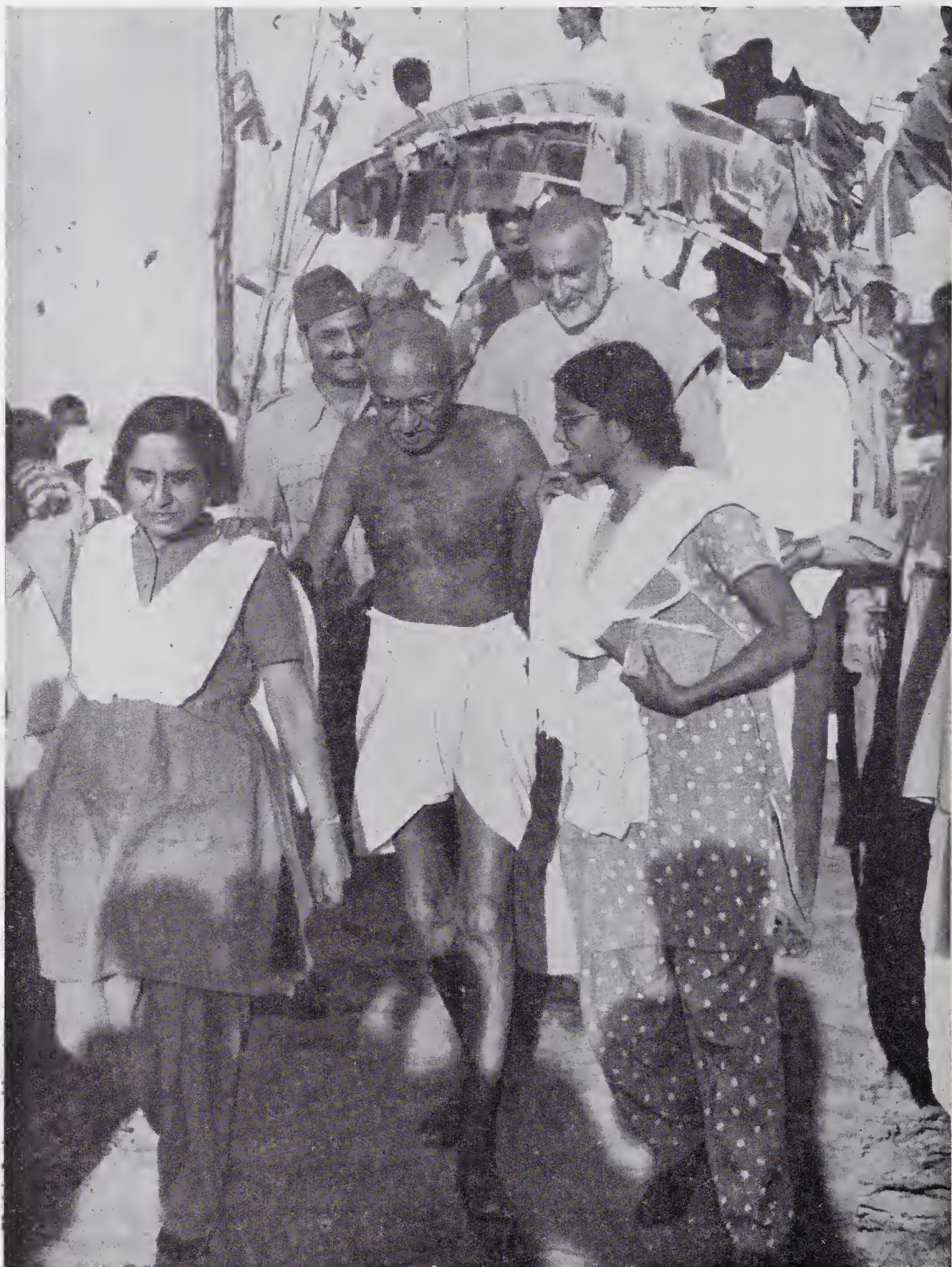
196. With Smt. Mridula Sarabhai in Bihar.

बिहार श्रीमती मृदुला साराभाई के साथ ।



197. With Prof. Abdul Bari appealing to the women of Bihar to promote tolerance.

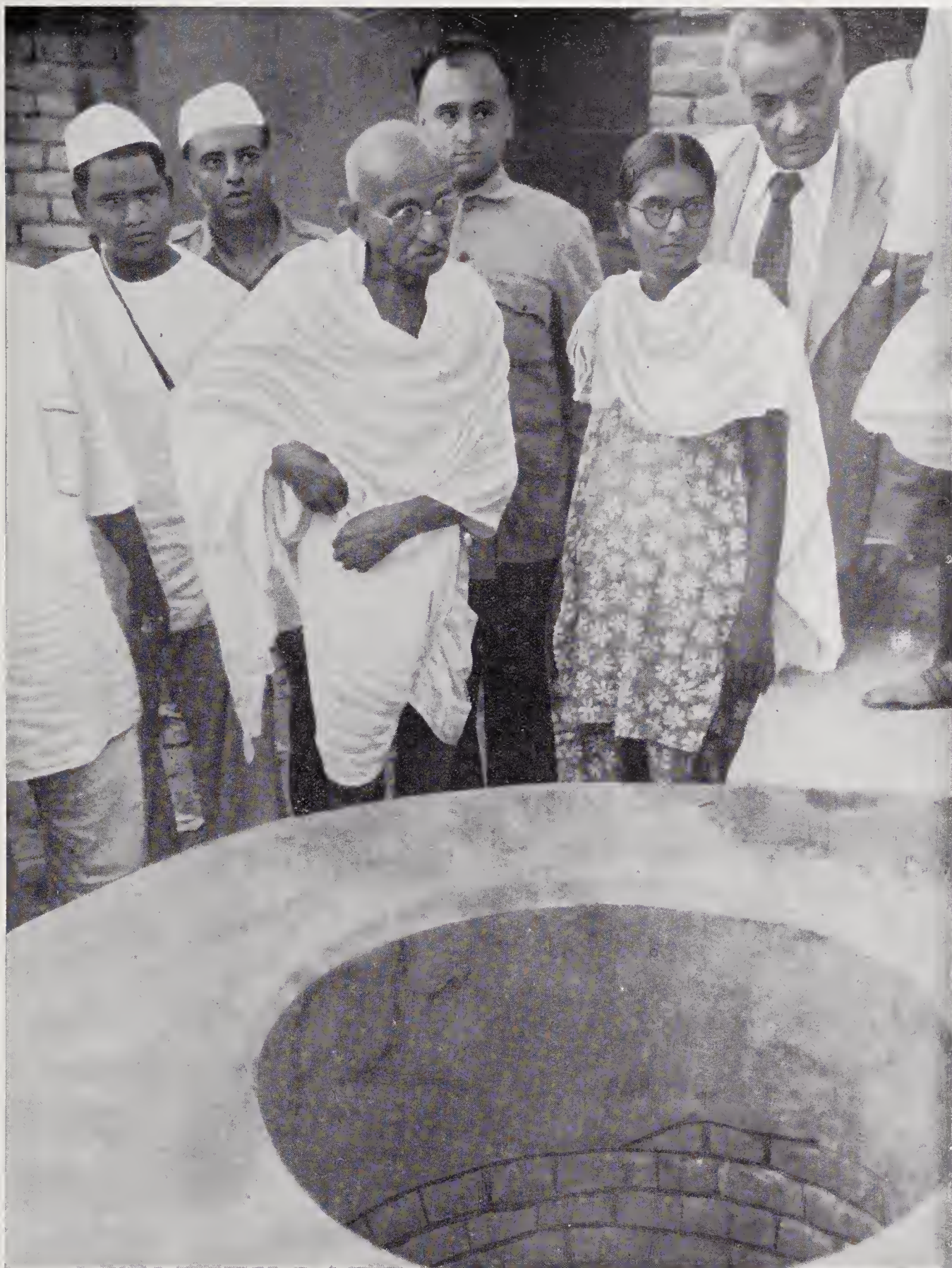
बिहार की महिलाओं से साहस एवं सहिष्णुता करने की अपील करते हुए प्रो० अबदुलबारी के साथ ।



198.

With General Shah Nawaz and the Frontier Gandhi in Bihar in 1947.

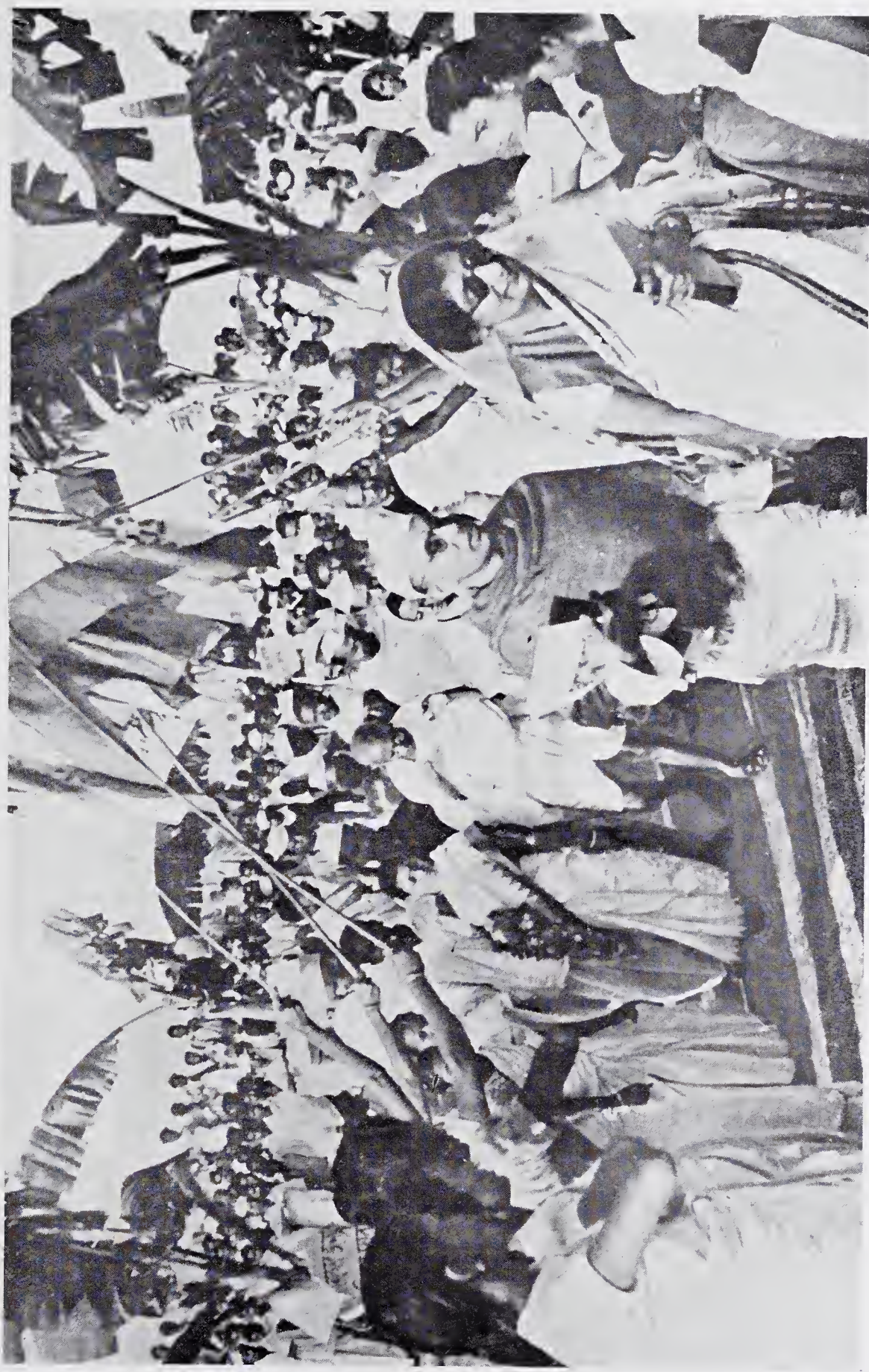
सन् १९४७ में बिहार में जनरल शाहनवाज तथा सीमान्त गांधी के साथ ।





200. Gandhiji presides.

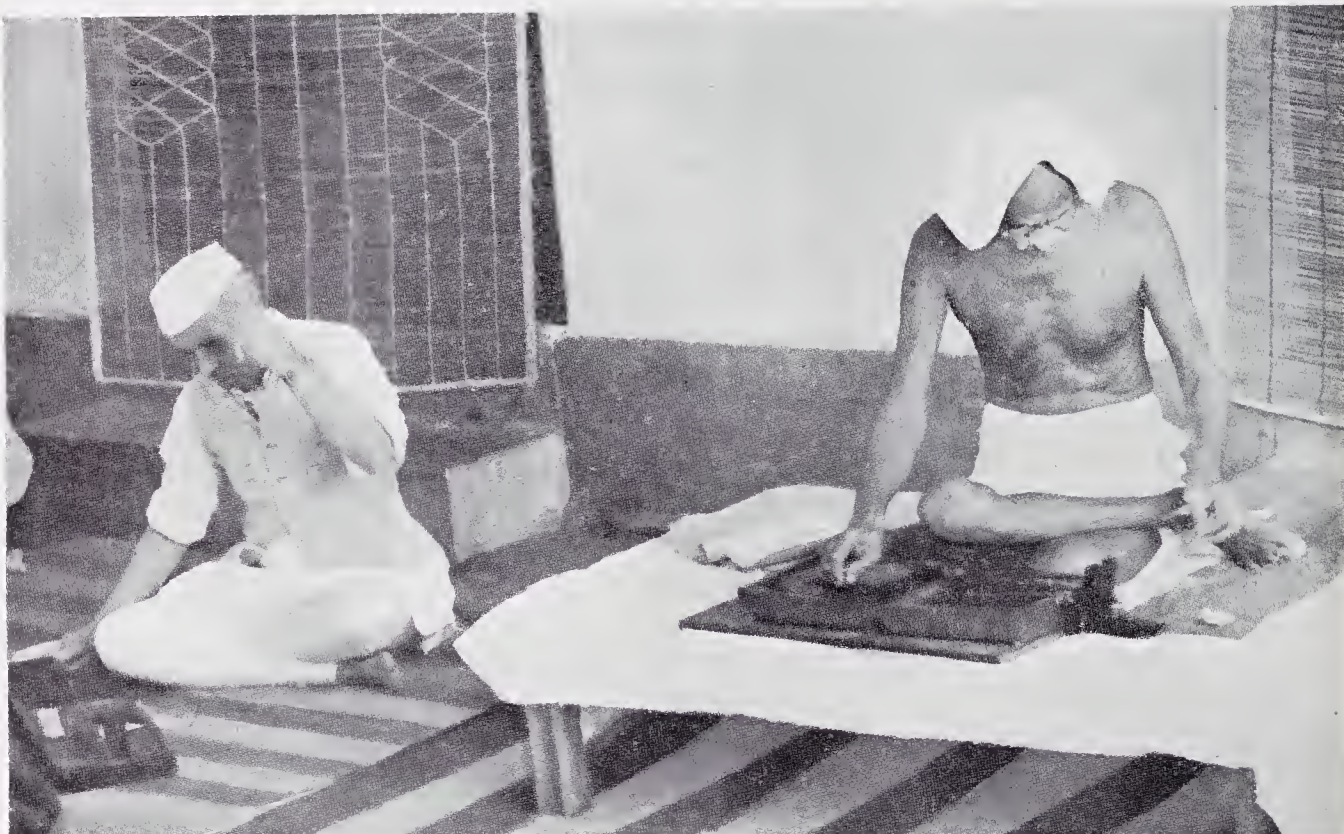
गांधीजी सभापति आसन पर ।



201.

On his departure from East Bengal, the Mahatma resents the ovation of the grateful people.

पूर्वी बंगाल से विदा होते समय—कृतज्ञ जनता का स्नेह प्रदर्शति ।



202. Spinning with Pandit Nehru during the National Week of 1947.
सन् १९४७ के राष्ट्रीय सप्ताह में पंडित नेहरू के साथ चरखा कातते हुए।



203. Spinning, while a Police Officer reports on the situation in distressed areas of Noakhali.
नोवाखाली के उपद्रव ग्रस्त क्षेत्रों के विषय में पुलिस अफसर द्वारा रिपोर्ट सुनते और चरखा कातते हुए।



204. With Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

सर तेज बहादुर सप्रू के साथ।



विभिन्न देशीय प्रतिनिधियों के बीच में ।

Meeting visitors from all parts of the globe.



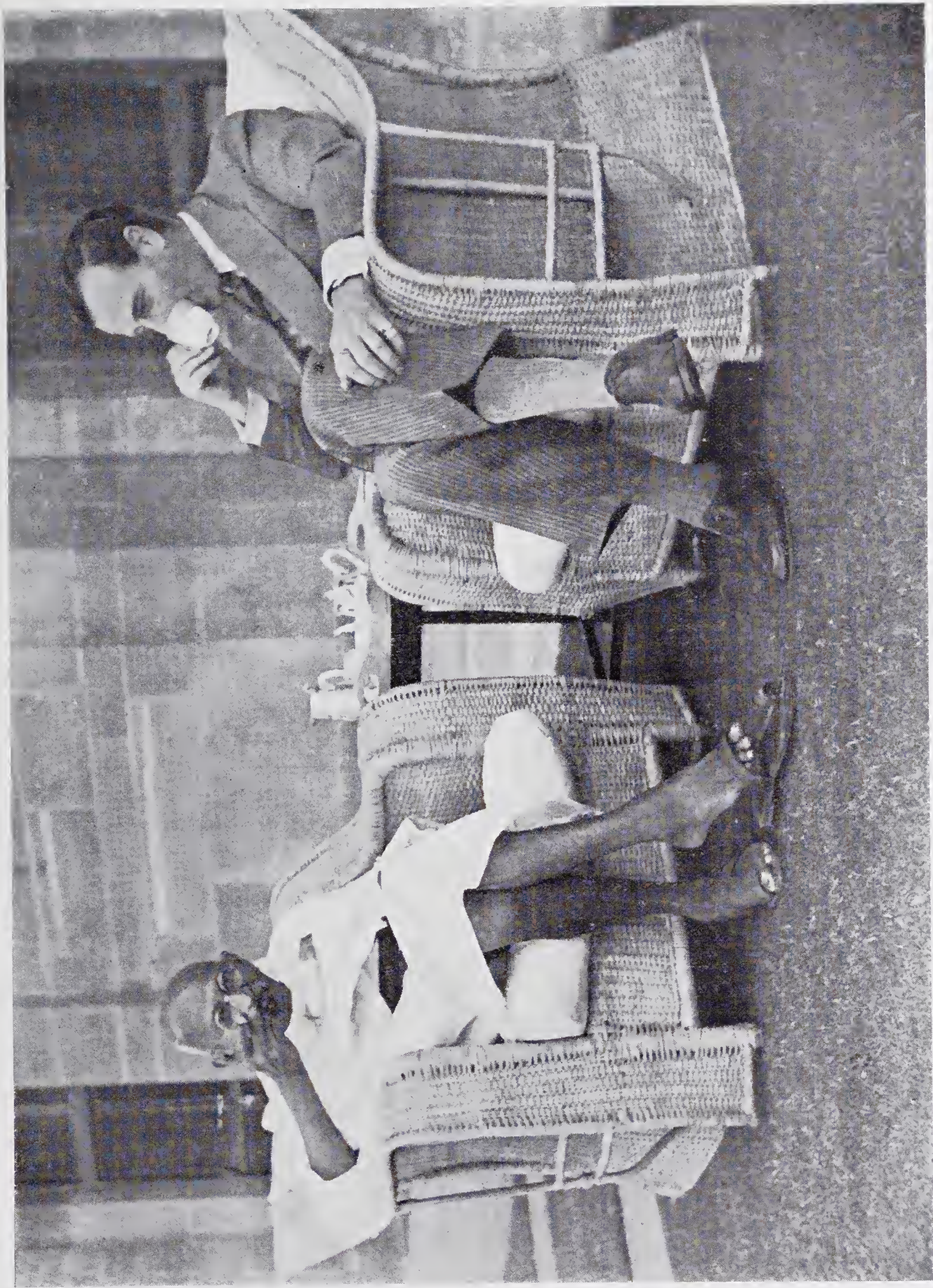
206. With Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.

राजकुमारी अमृत कौर के साथ ।

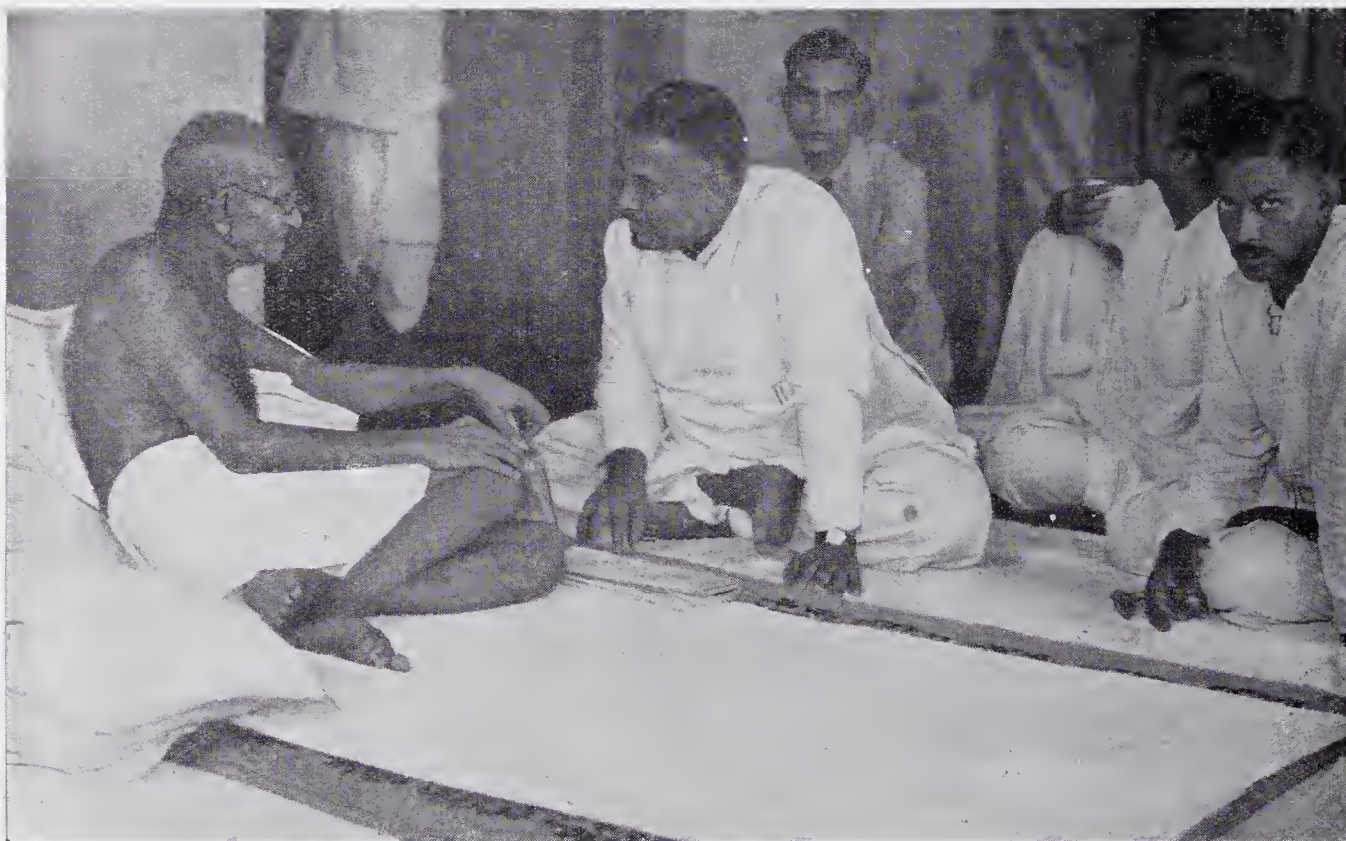


With his friends the Earl and Countess Mountbatten on March, 31st 1947.

अपने मित्रलाड और लेडी माउण्टबैटेन के साथ ३१ मार्च १९४७ को ।

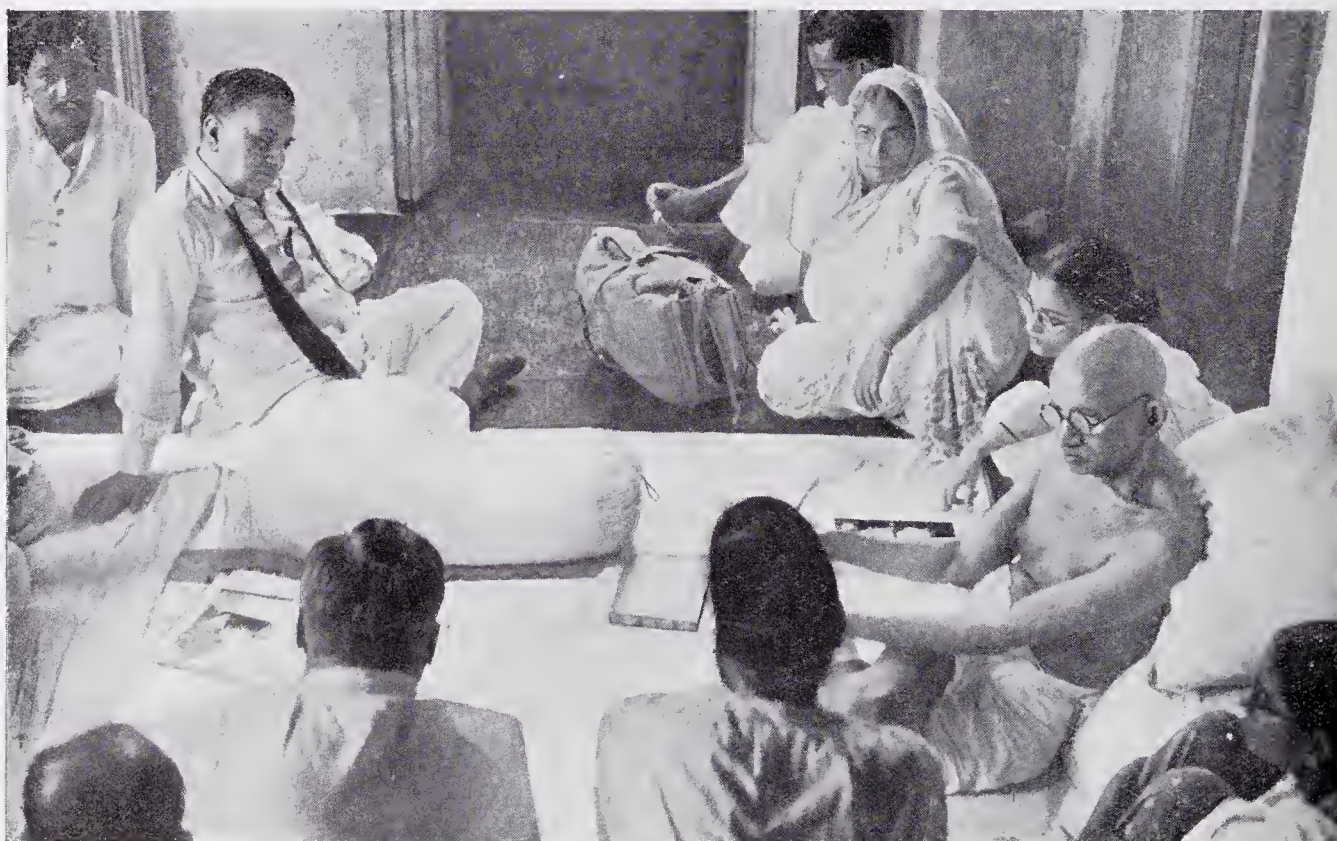


208 An intimate picture of the Mahatma with Earl Mountbatten in the garden of the Viceregal Lodge, New Delhi,
 (नयी दिल्ली) उपवन का एक दृश्य--लार्ड माउण्टबैटन से घनिष्ठता का एक उदाहरण



209. On the eve of the Independence of India, 14th August 1947, With Abdur Rahman, Relief Minister of Bengal, discussing the problem of help to the distressed.

१४ अगस्त सन् १९४७ को भारतीय स्वतन्त्रता सूर्योदय के पूर्व बंगाल के सहायता मंत्री अबदुररहमान से पीड़ितों की सहायता पर विचारविमर्श करते हुए।



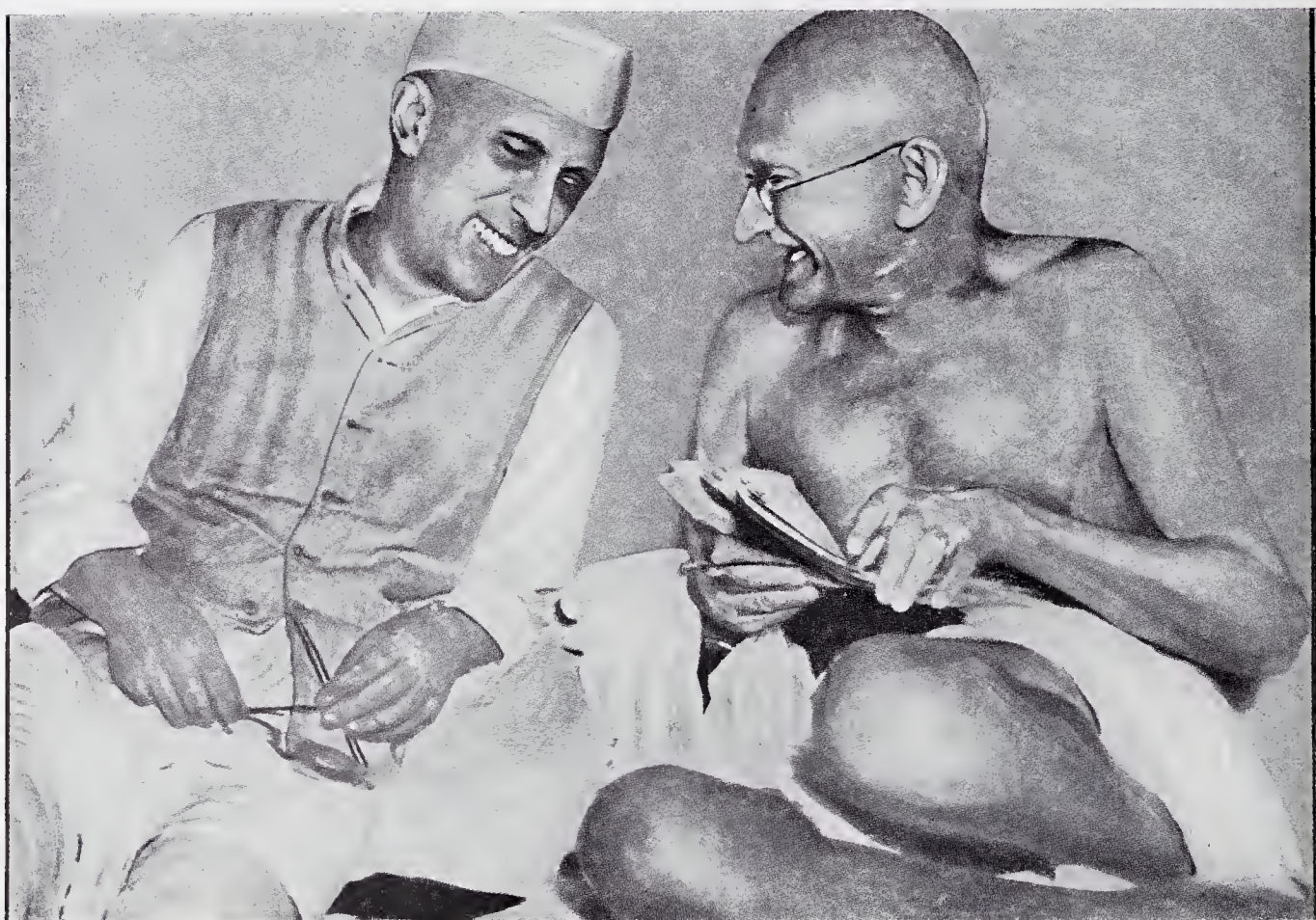
210. With Mr. Suhrawardy at Beliaghata in August, 1947.

अगस्त १९४६ में बेलियाघटा (कलकत्ता) में मि० सुह्रावर्दी के साथ

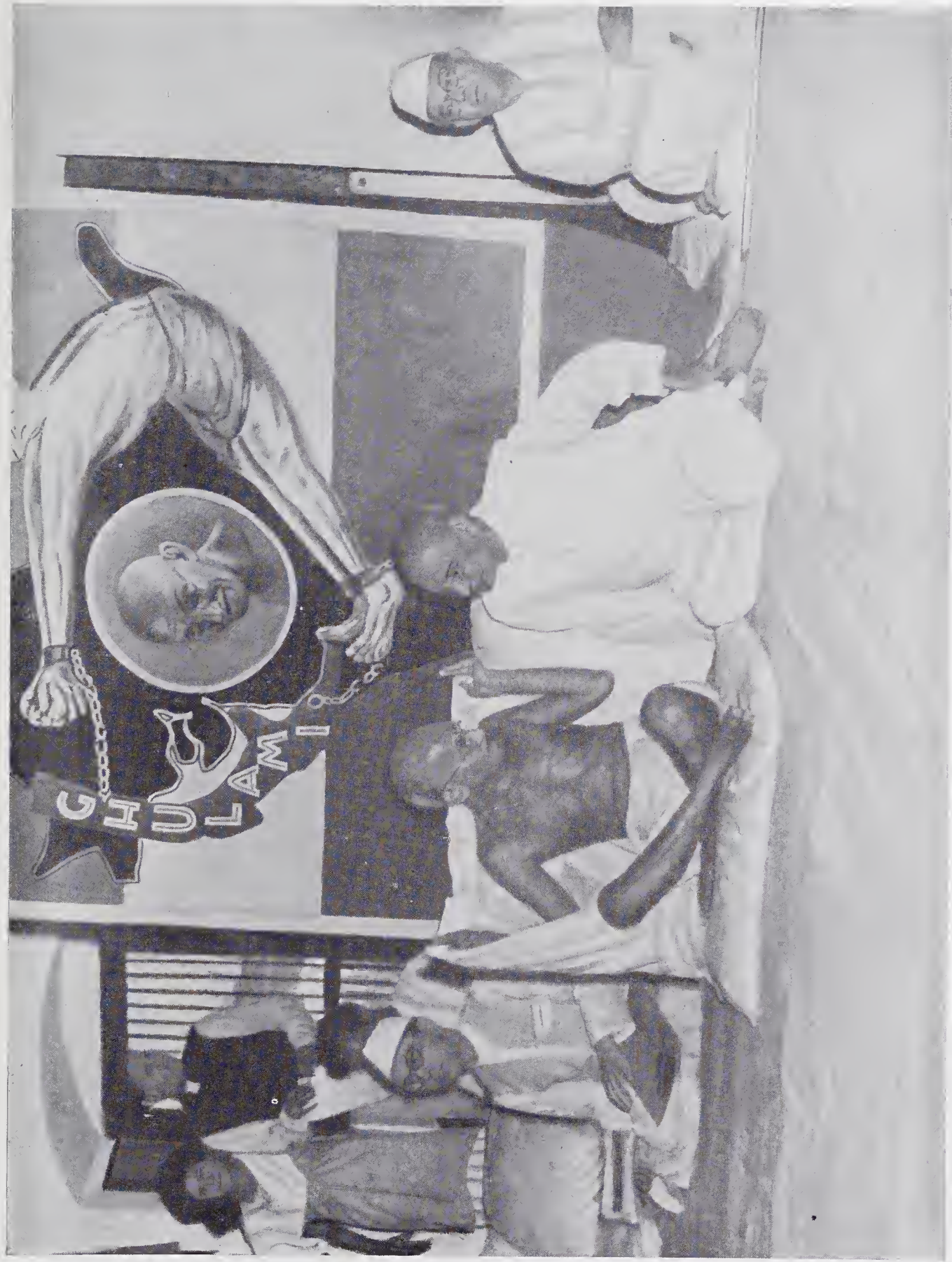


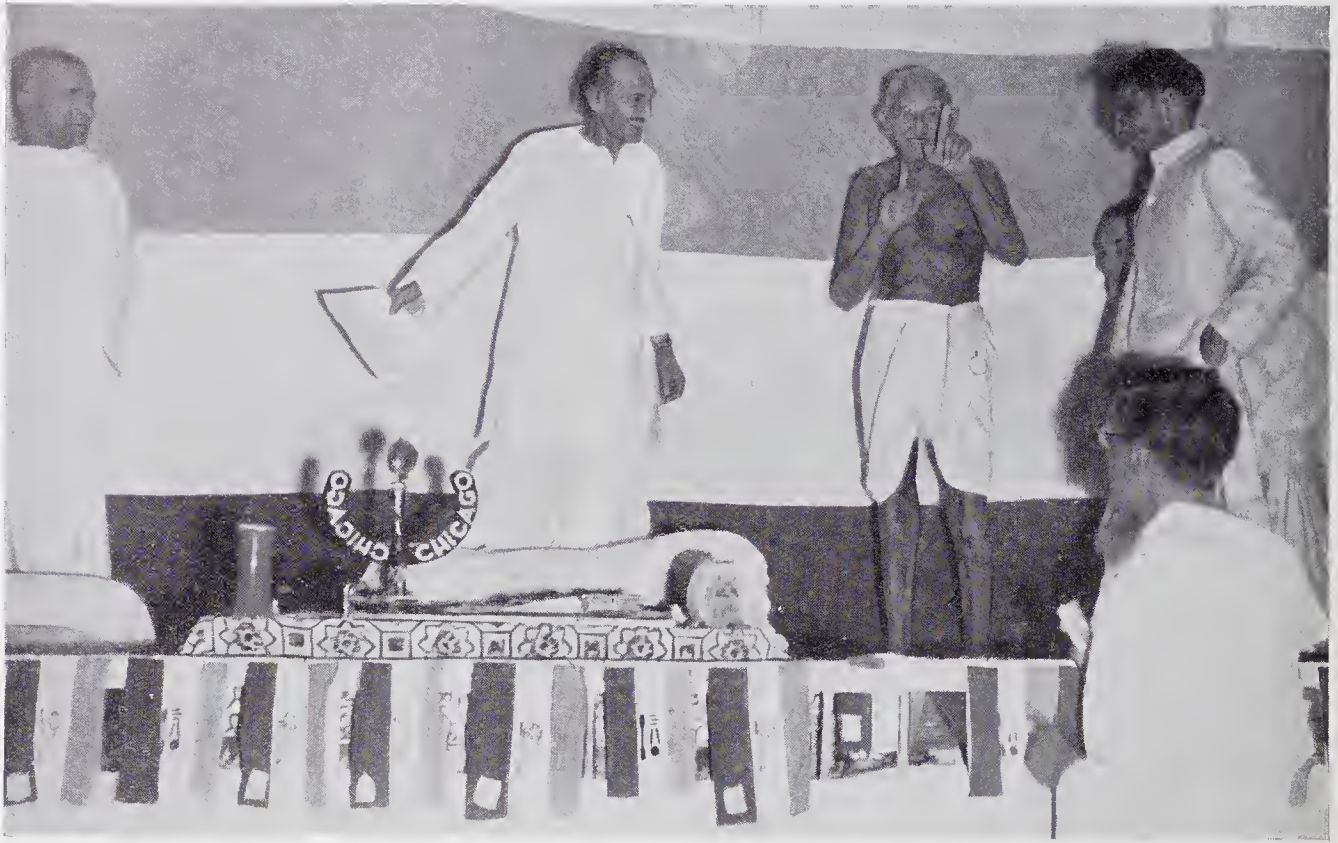


212. Meeting Officers of the Indian National Army, who sing him their National Song.
आज़ाद हिन्द फौज के अफसरों से भेंट। एक राष्ट्रीय गान को सुनते हुए।



213. With Jawaharlal Nehru in happy mood, when discussing the prospects of Independent India.
प्रसन्न मुद्रा में—स्वाधीन भारत विषय परामर्श के समय श्री नेहरू जी के साथ।

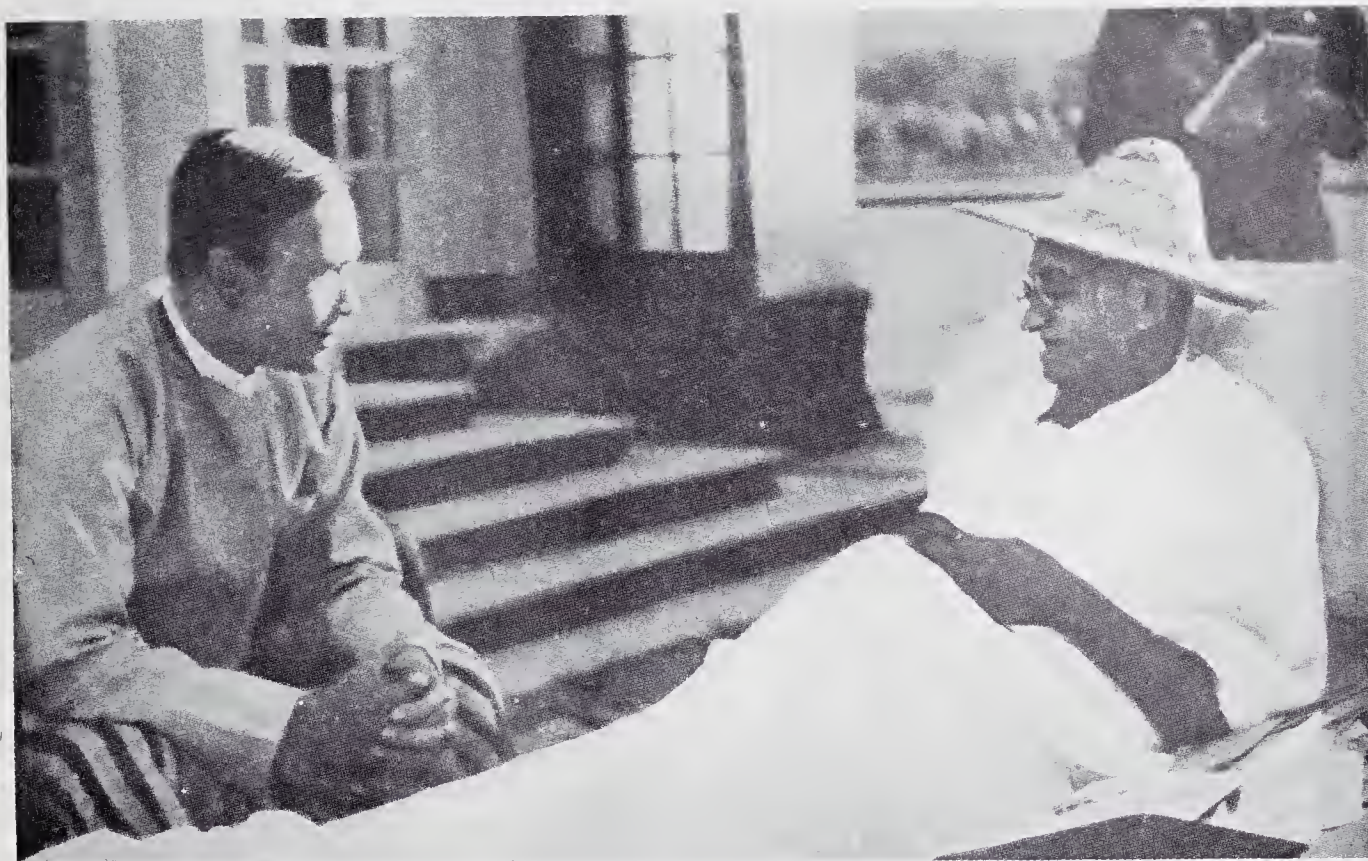




215. After achieving independence: Happy at a meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Delhi, on 15th November 1947.
स्वाधीनता प्राप्ति के उपरान्त—अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी की दिल्ली बैठक में प्रसन्न चित्त गांधोजी।

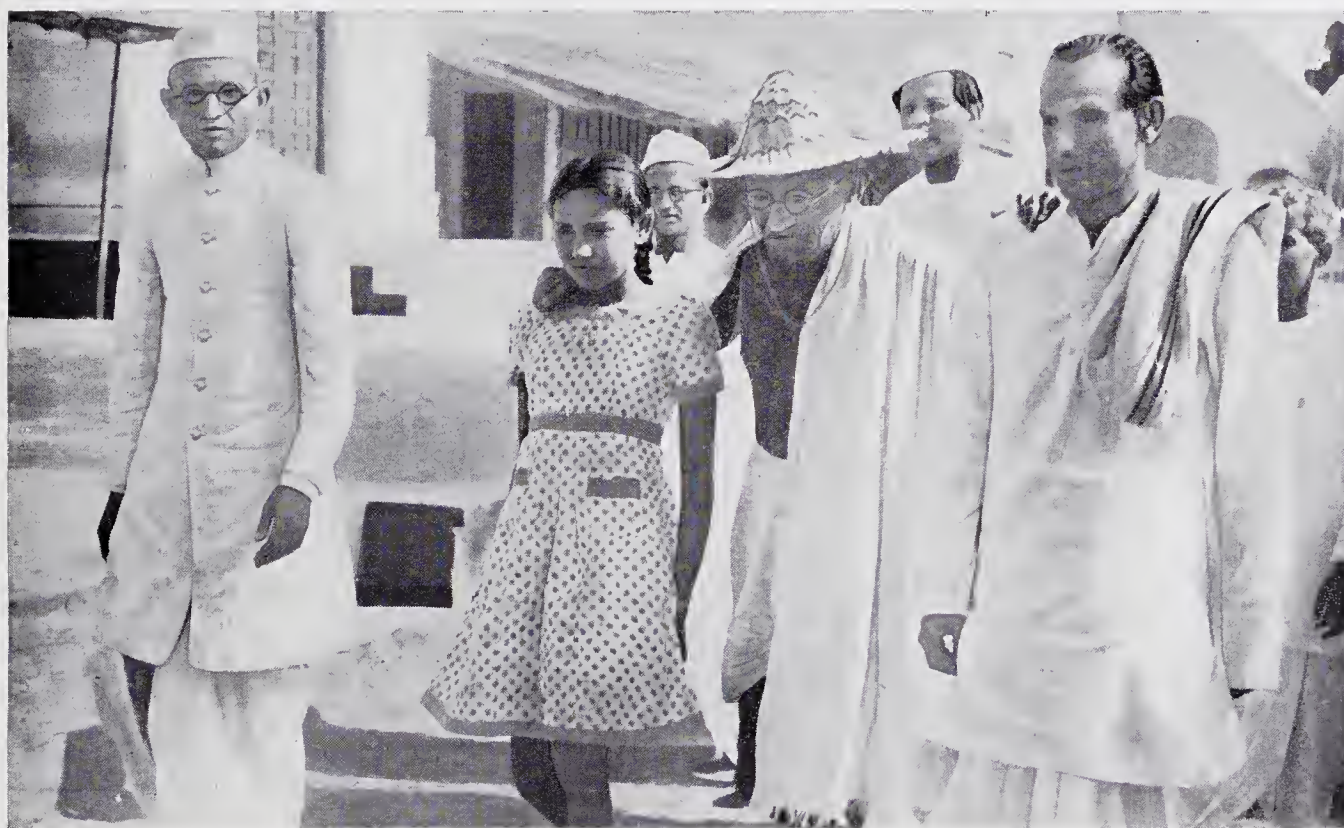


216. His first and last visit to All India Radio studios at Delhi, on 12th November 1947.
१२ नवम्बर १९४७ को दिल्ली के आल इण्डिया रेडियो स्टेशन में आपका प्रथम एवं अन्तिम आगमन।



217. With Thakin Nu, Premier of Burma, in 1947.

वर्मा के प्रधान मंत्री थाकिनू के साथ १९४७ में।



218.

Walking with Acharya Kripalani in Delhi.

आचार्य कृपलानी के साथ दिल्ली में टहलते समय।



Addressing the concluding session of the Inter-Asian Relations Conference in 1947.

२ अप्रैल १९४७ को इन्टर एसियन रिलेशन्स कान्फरेन्स की समाप्ति पर भाषण देते हुए।



220. Always alert. Before pronouncing judgement or taking up any matter, he acquainted himself with all the details of the case.

सदैव जिज्ञासु । कोई निर्णय करने तथा किसी विषय पर कुछ कहने से पहले उस विषय की पूरी जानकारी प्राप्त कर लेते थे ।



221. A saint amongst politicians he chose the spinning wheel as one of the instruments
by which to direct India into a life of freedom and peace.
राजनीतिज्ञों में ऋषि समान जिसने भारत को स्वतन्त्रता तथा शान्ति की ओर ले जाने के लिए चरखे
को साधन रूप में स्वीकार किया था ।



222.

Photographed for the last time with Prime Minister of Indian Union, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in December 1947.

दिसम्बर १९४७ में भारत के प्रधान मंत्री पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के साथ आखिरी बार लिया गया चित्र ।



223.

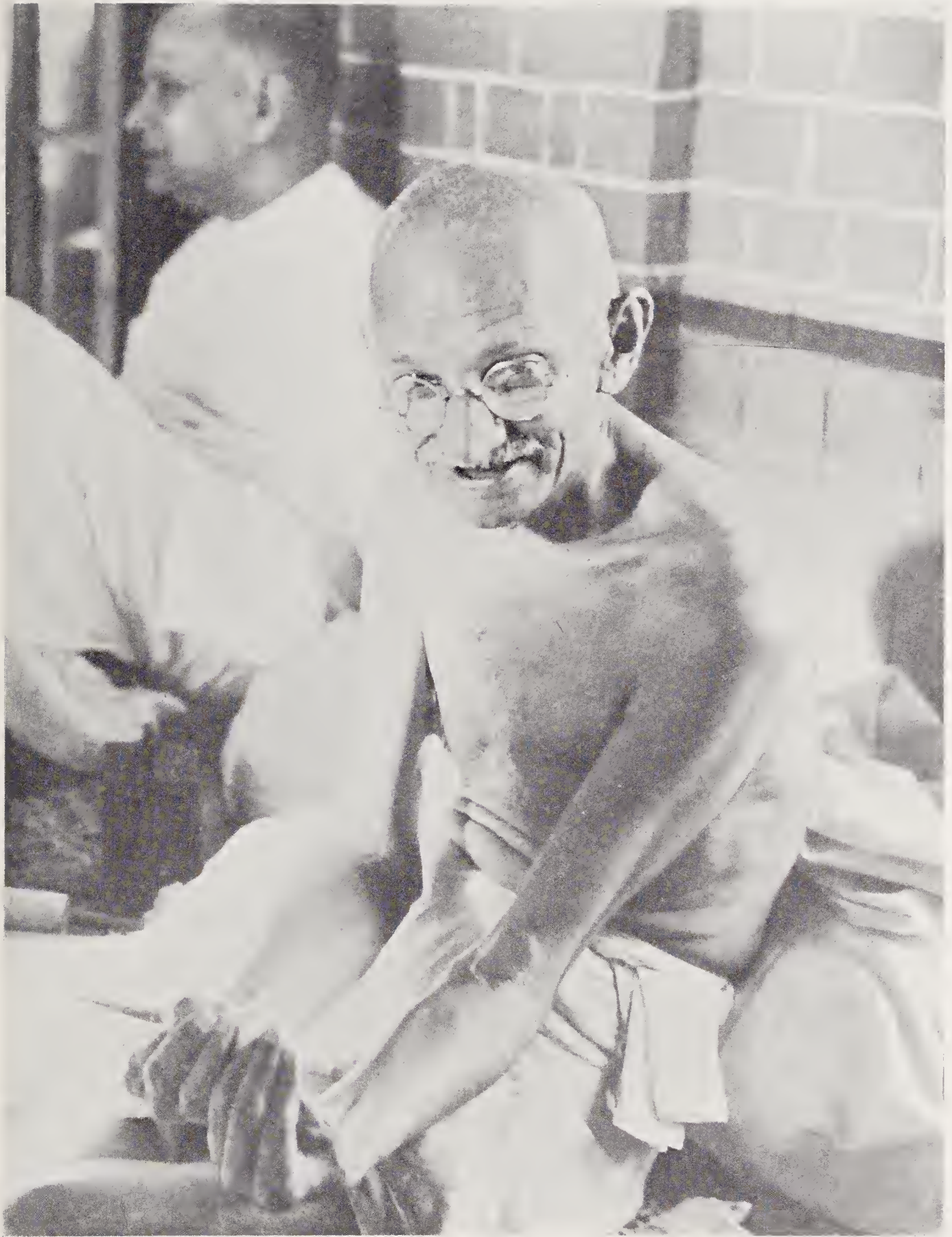
With Dr. B. C. Roy discussing the problems of Bengal.
 डा० विधान चन्द्र राय के साथ बंगाल की समस्याओं पर विचार विमर्श करते हुए।



224.

On his last Unity tour of the Punjab.

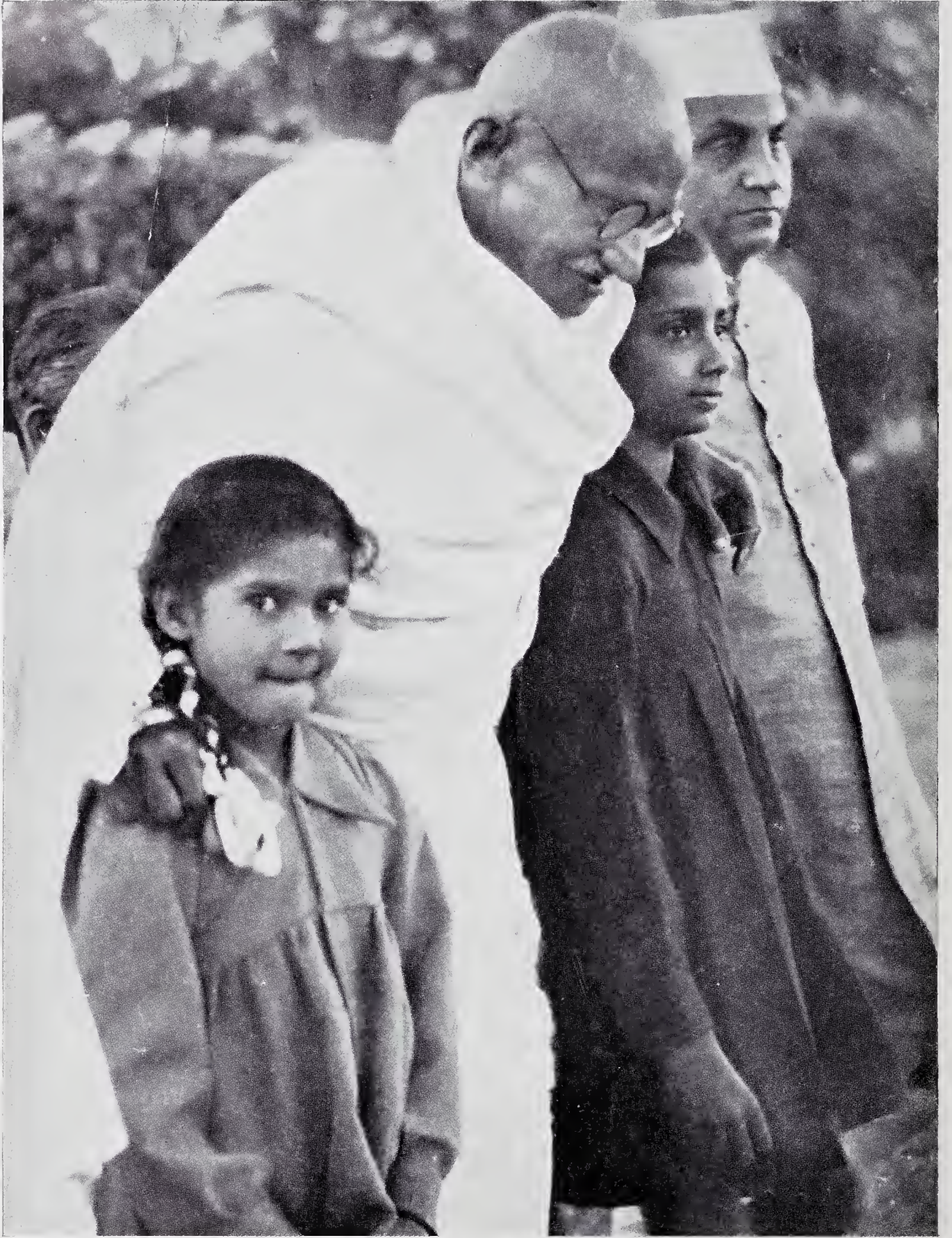
पंजाब में एकता स्थापनार्थ अन्तिम यात्रापर।



225.

Fine study of the Mahatma explaining by his hands his point of view.

महात्मा गांधी अपने हाथों से अपना अभिप्राय व्यक्त कर रहे हैं ।



226. Shortly before the end; an evening walk in the garden of Birla house, New Delhi.

मृत्यु से कुछ दिनों पूर्व दिल्ली स्थित बिड़ला भवन स्थित बाग में टहलकर वापस आते समय ।



227. Commencing his last fast in Delhi on 13th January 1948.
दिल्ली में १३ जनवरी १९४८ को अन्तिम अनशन आरम्भ।



228. Even during the fast, he worked relentlessly for peace.
अनशन करते हुए भी दैनिक कार्यों में अथकलग्न।

11-8-47)
my dear Amiya,

I am sorry
for your loss which
in reality is no
loss. Death is but a
sleep and a forgetting.
This is such a sweet
sleep that the body
has not to wake again
& the dead load of
memory is thrown
overboard. So far
as I know, happily
there is no meeting

in the beyond as
we have it today.
When the isolated
drops melt, they
share the majesty
of the ocean to
which they belong.
In isolation they
die but to meet
the ocean again.
I don't know whether
I have been clear
enough to tell
you any comfort.
Love
Bapu

229.

Specimen of his manuscript.

उनकी हस्त लिपि।

11-8-47.

११-८-४७

My Dear Amiya,

I am sorry for your loss which in reality is no loss. Death is but a sleep and a forgetting. This is such a sweet sleep that the body has not to wake again and the dead load of memory is thrown overboard. So far as I know, happily there is no meeting in the beyond as we have it today. When the isolated drops melt, they share the majesty of the ocean to which they belong. In isolation they die but to meet the Ocean again. I don't know whether I have been clear enough to give you any comfort.

Love,
Bapu.

प्रिय अमिया,

मुझे तुम्हारे दुःख पर महान शोक है, पर सब पूछा जाय तो यह क्षति नहीं है। मृत्यु निद्रा है जिस के बाद मनुष्य अपना पुरातन सम्बन्ध भूल जाता है। यह एक ऐसी मधुर-निद्रा है जिस से मनुष्य फिर नहीं जागता। जहां तक मैं जानता हूँ, जिस तरह आज हम मिलते हैं उस तरह मृत्यु के बाद नहीं मिल सकते। विच्छिन्न बूंद पिघल कर फिर उसी समुद्र में मिल जाती हैं जो उनका उद्भव स्थान है। पुनर्मिलन के लिये ही वे विच्छिन्न अवस्था में विद्रवित होती हैं। पता नहीं मेरी बातों से तुम्हें कुछ भी सन्तोष हुआ है कि नहीं।

प्यार,
बापू

१९५१-४८
१० दि

भाई शंकरन,

गुहारी पुत्री
सुलोचना को स्वर्गवास
की खबर चि० किशोरलाल ने दी, मुझे कुछ
भी पता नहीं था मैं क्या लिखूँ? तुम को
आश्वासन क्या दूँ? मृत्यु सच्चा मित्र है।
हमारा अज्ञान हमको दुःख देता है। सुलोचना
की अत्मा तो कल थी, आज है, भविष्य
में भी रहेगी। शरीर को जाना ही है।
सुलोचना अपने दोष लेकर गई गुण रख गई है।
उसे हम न भूलें। कर्त्तव्य को पूर्ति करने में
और सावधान बनो।

बापू के
आशीर्वाद

New Delhi,

January 29, 1948.

Brother Shankaran,

Chi. Kishorlal gave me news of the death of your daughter Sulochana. I had no idea at all of it. What can I write to you? What comfort could I give? Death is a true friend. It is only our ignorance that causes us grief. Sulochana's spirit was yesterday, is to-day will remain to-morrow. The body, of course, must die. Sulochana has gone taking her failings with her, leaving the good in her behind. Let us not forget that. Be even more true in the discharge of your duty.

With blessings,

Bapu.

नयी दिल्ली,

२९-१-१९४८

भाई शंकरन,

तुम्हारी पुत्री सुलोचना के स्वर्गवास की खबर चि० किशोरलाल ने दी, मुझे कुछ भी पता नहीं था मैं क्या लिखूँ? तुम को आश्वासन क्या दूँ? मृत्यु सच्चा मित्र है। हमारा अज्ञान हमको दुःख देता है। सुलोचना की अत्मा तो कल थी, आज है, भविष्य में भी रहेगी। शरीर को जाना ही है। सुलोचना अपने दोष लेकर गई गुण रख गई है। उसे हम न भूलें। कर्त्तव्य को पूर्ति करने में और सावधान बनो।

बापू के
आशीर्वाद



231. His last achievement was the restoration of peace and communal harmony in trouble-stricken Delhi, in January, 1948.
शक्ति एवं साम्प्रदायिक एकता के सफल अन्तिम प्रयास—जनवरी १९४८ में दिल्ली में।



232. Mahatma Gandhi in the garden at Birla House, New Delhi, the morning before the tragedy.
हत्याकाण्ड के प्रातः काल महात्मा गान्धी बिड़ला भवन नई दिल्ली के उद्यान में।



233. On the way to attend his last prayer meeting on January 29th 1948.
अन्तिम प्रार्थना में ३० जनवरी १९४८ को जाते समय ।

The light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere. I do not know what to tell you and how to say it. Our beloved leader, Bapu as we called him, the father of the nation, is no more. Perhaps I am wrong to say that. Nevertheless, we will not see him again as we have seen him for these many years. We will not run to him for advice and seek solace from him, and that is a terrible blow not to me only but to millions and millions in this country. And it is a little difficult to soften the blow by any advice that I or anyone else can give you.

The light has gone out, I said, and yet I was wrong. For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light. The light that has illuminated this country for these many years will illumine this country for many more years, and a thousand years later that light will still be seen in this country and the world will see it and it will give solace to innumerable hearts. For that light represented something more than the immediate present; it represented the living truth—the eternal truths, reminding us of the right path, drawing us from error, taking this ancient country to freedom.

All this has happened when there was so much more for him to do. We could never think that he was unnecessary or that he had done his task. But now, particularly, when we are faced with so many difficulties, his not being with us is a blow most terrible to bear.

A madman has put an end to his life, for I can only call him mad who did it, and yet there has been enough of poison spread in this country during the past years and months and this poison has had effect on people's minds. We must face this poison, we must root out this poison, and we must face all the perils that encompass us, and face them not madly or badly but rather in the way that our beloved teacher taught us to face them.

So we must not do that. But that does not mean that we should be weak but rather that we should in strength and in unity face all the troubles that are in front of us.

We must hold together, and all our petty troubles, difficulties and conflicts must be ended in the face of this great disaster. The best prayer that we could offer him and his memory is to take a pledge to dedicate ourselves to truth, and to the cause for which this great countryman of ours lived and for which he has died.

A great disaster is a symbol to us to remember all the big things of life and forget the small things, of which we have thought too much. In his death he has reminded us of the big things of life, that living truth, and if we remember that, then it will be well with India.

234. A poignant announcement made by the Prime Minister of Indian Union on the night of January 30th, 1948.

३० जनवरी १९४८ की रात को भारतीय संघ के प्रधान मंत्री के हृदयोद्गार ।

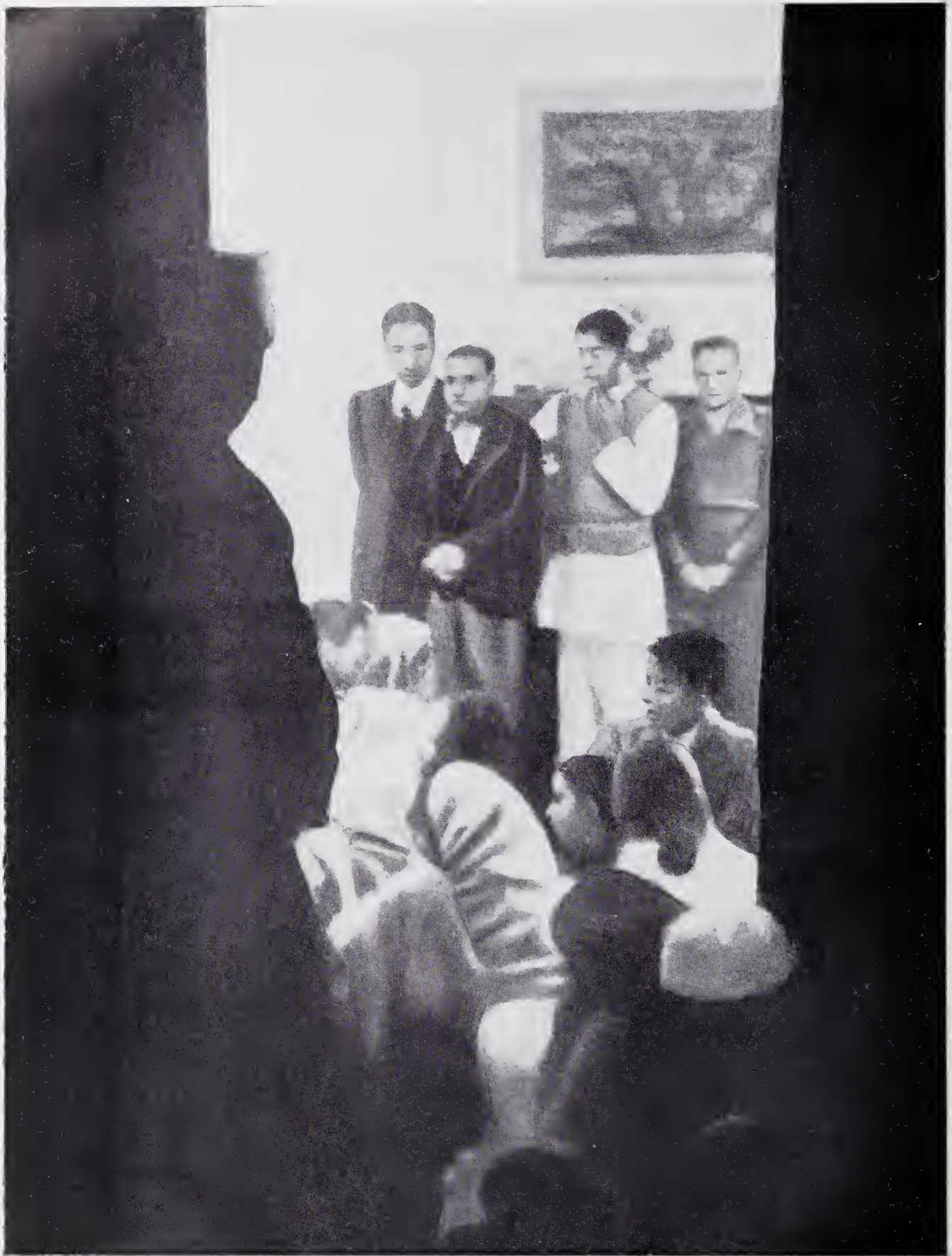


AN INDEPENDENT ORGAN OF
INDIAN NATIONALISM

CALCUTTA THE 31ST JANUARY 1948.

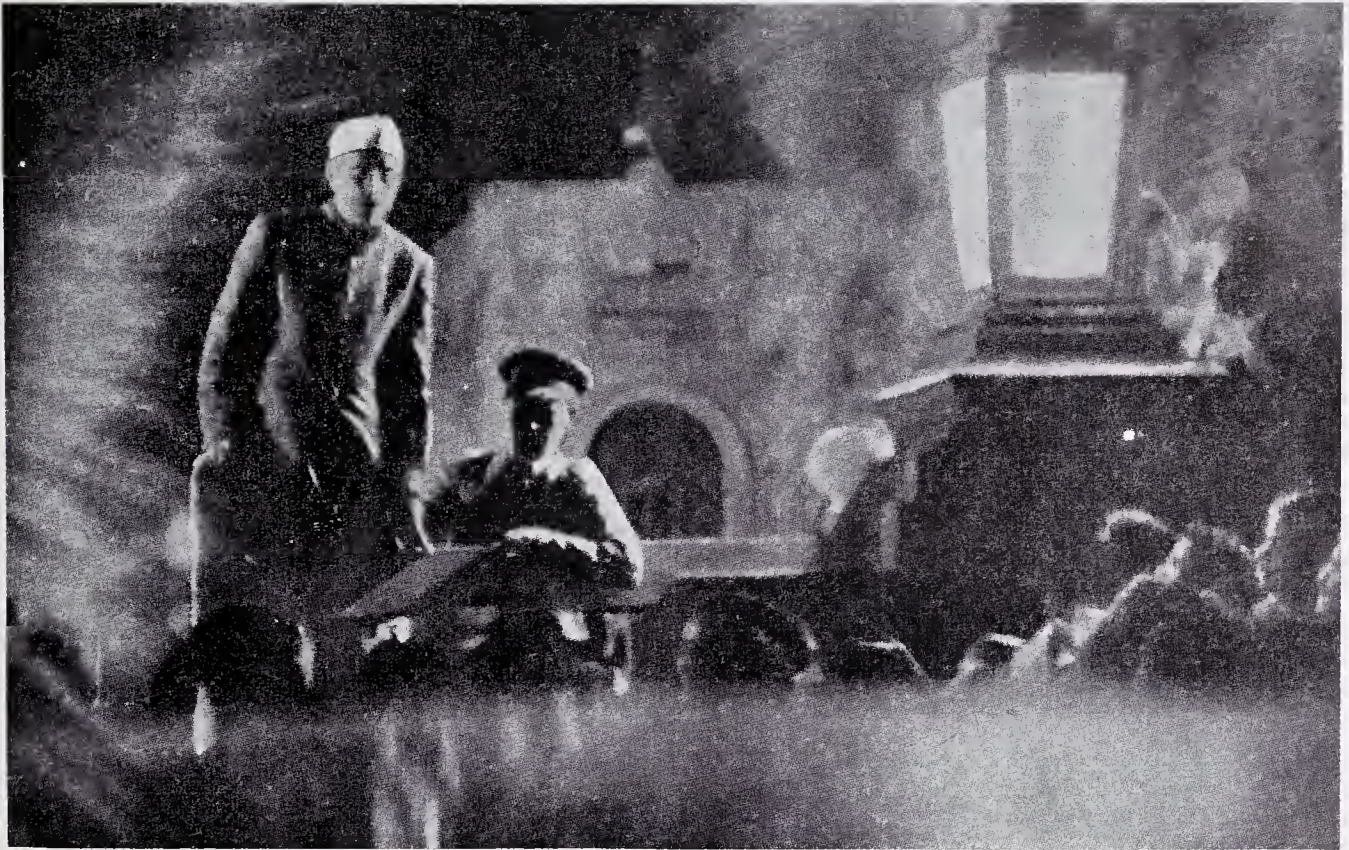
GANDHIJI HAS BEEN KILLED...
THIS SECOND CRUCIFIXION IN
THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD
HAS BEEN ENACTED ON A
FRIDAY—THE SAME DAY JESUS
WAS DONE TO DEATH, ONE
THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND
FIFTEEN YEARS AGO.

FATHER, FORGIVE US!



236. A picture taken through a window of Birla House, New Delhi, just after the dying Mahatma had been carried in. The shocked inmates await the doctor's verdict.

महात्मा गान्धी को मरणासन्न अवस्था में दिल्ली के बिड़ला भवन के अन्दर ले जाने के बाद एक खिड़की से लिया हुआ चित्र, शोक सन्तप्त भक्त डाक्टरों के निर्णय की प्रतीक्षा में।



237. In the gathering darkness Pandit Nehru, in tears, tells the stunned crowd that Mahatma is dead. "I do not know what to tell you and how to say it. This is a terrible blow, not only to me but to the millions and millions in this country."

घनीभूत अंधकार में पण्डित नेहरू अश्रुपरिपूर्ण नेत्रों के साथ रुंधे हुए कण्ठ से स्तब्ध जनसमूह से कहते हैं—“महात्मा जो अब हमारे बीच नहीं। मैं नहीं जानता कि मैं आप से क्या कहूँ। और कैसे कहूँ। यह सिर्फ मुझको नहीं वरन इस देश की कोटि कोटि जनता को एक मर्मन्तिक आघात है।”



238. The people weep with him.

उनके साथ जनता भी रो रही है ।



239. "Death is but a sleep....."

"मृत्यु भी निद्रा ही है....."



240. In the night of January 30-31st 1948.

३०-३१ जनवरी १९४८ रात को।

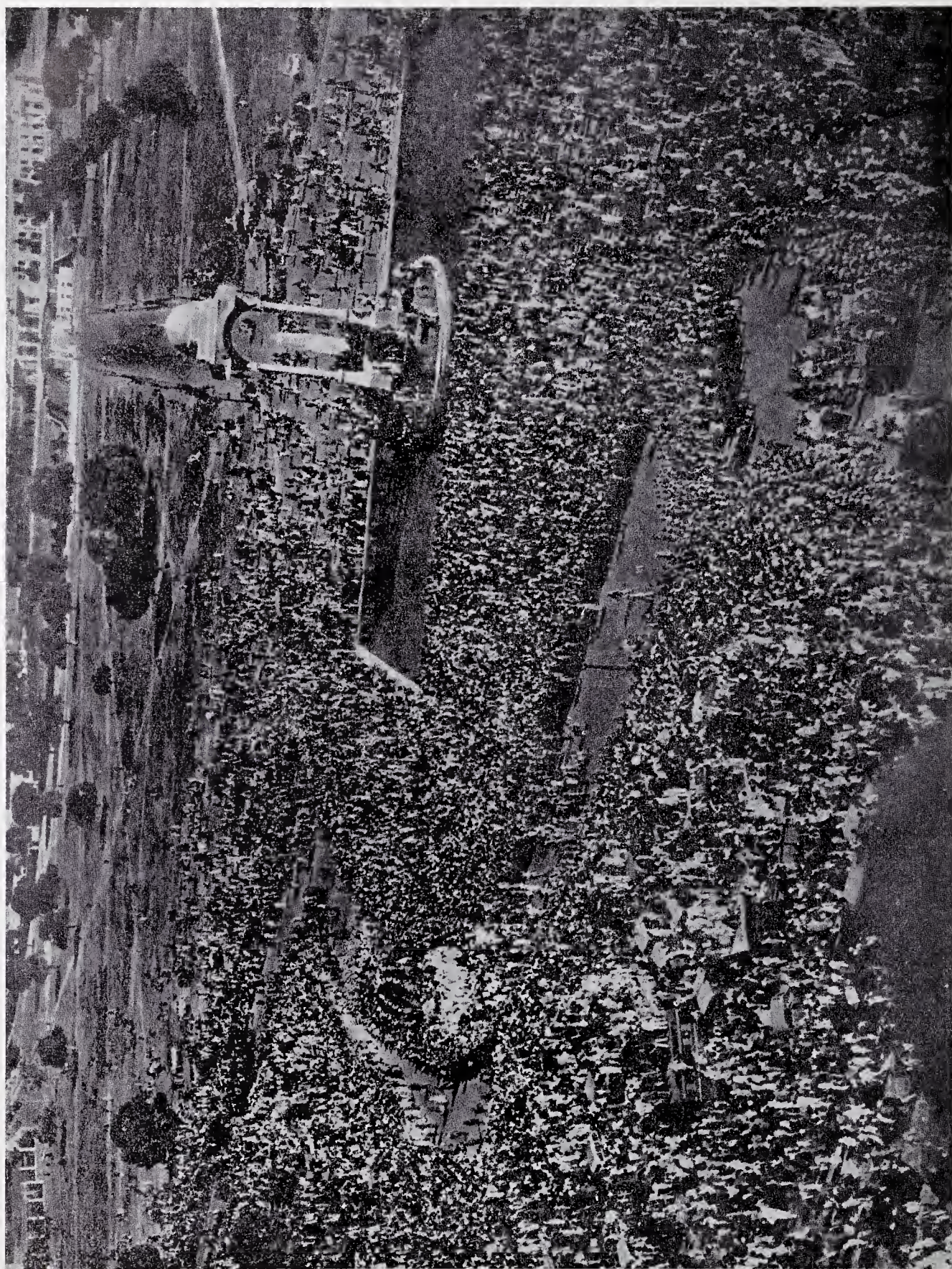


241-242. The spot where Mahatma Gandhi fell. Inset: The same spot as it is to-day.
 वह स्थान जहां महात्मा गांधी गिरे थे, उसे ज्यों का त्यों सुरक्षित रखा गया है ।



243. The last journey.

अन्तिम यात्रा ।



244. Sorrowing humanity accompanies the Mahatma on his last journey.

शोक सन्तप्त समुदाय महात्मा जी की शेष यात्रा के साथ ।



245. Few hurried words between the Governor General and the Prime Minister at Rajghat.
राजघाट पर प्रधान मन्त्री तथा गवर्नर जनरल के बीच शीघ्रता में बातें।



246. The Governor-General with Countess and Lady Pamela Mountbatten along with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Chinese Ambassador sitting on the bare ground at Rajghat.
गवर्नर-जनरल उनकी पत्नी तथा पुत्री व मौलाना आज़ाद; चीन के राजदूत लइन के साथ राजघाट में जमीनपर बैठे हुए।



247.

The heart-rending scene a moment before the pyre was set alight.

हृदय विदार दृश्य—शवकी अन्तिम यात्रा के पूर्व ।



248-249.

The mortal remains of the man who will never die committed to the flames.

उस अमर आत्मा का पार्थिव शरीर चिता को अर्पित ।





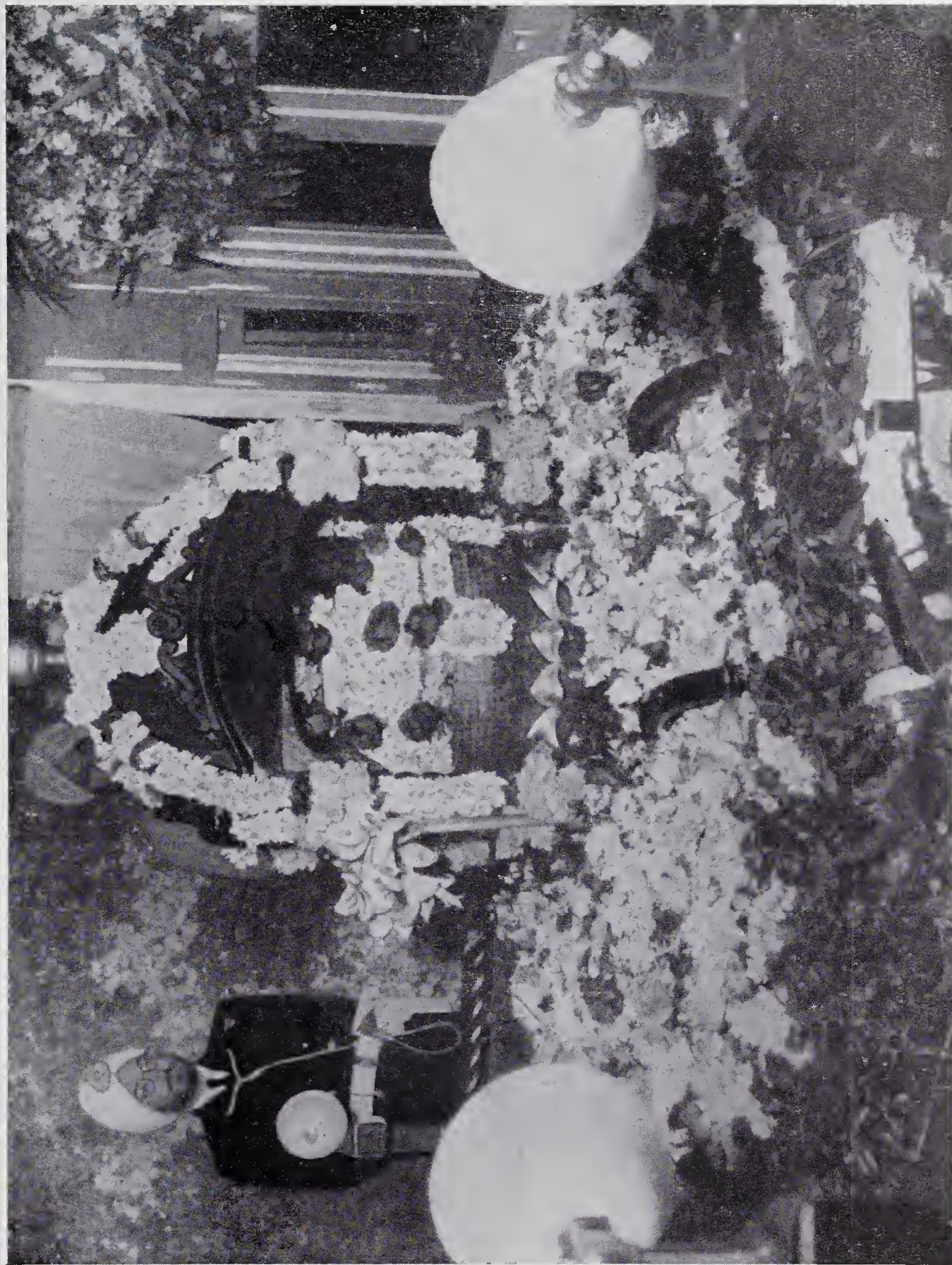
250.

The ashes, being collected by his son Ramdas and others.
 भारत की नदियों और महासागर में प्रवाहित किये जाने के पूर्व उनके कनिष्ठ पुत्र द्वारा अस्थि भण्ड संग्रह ।

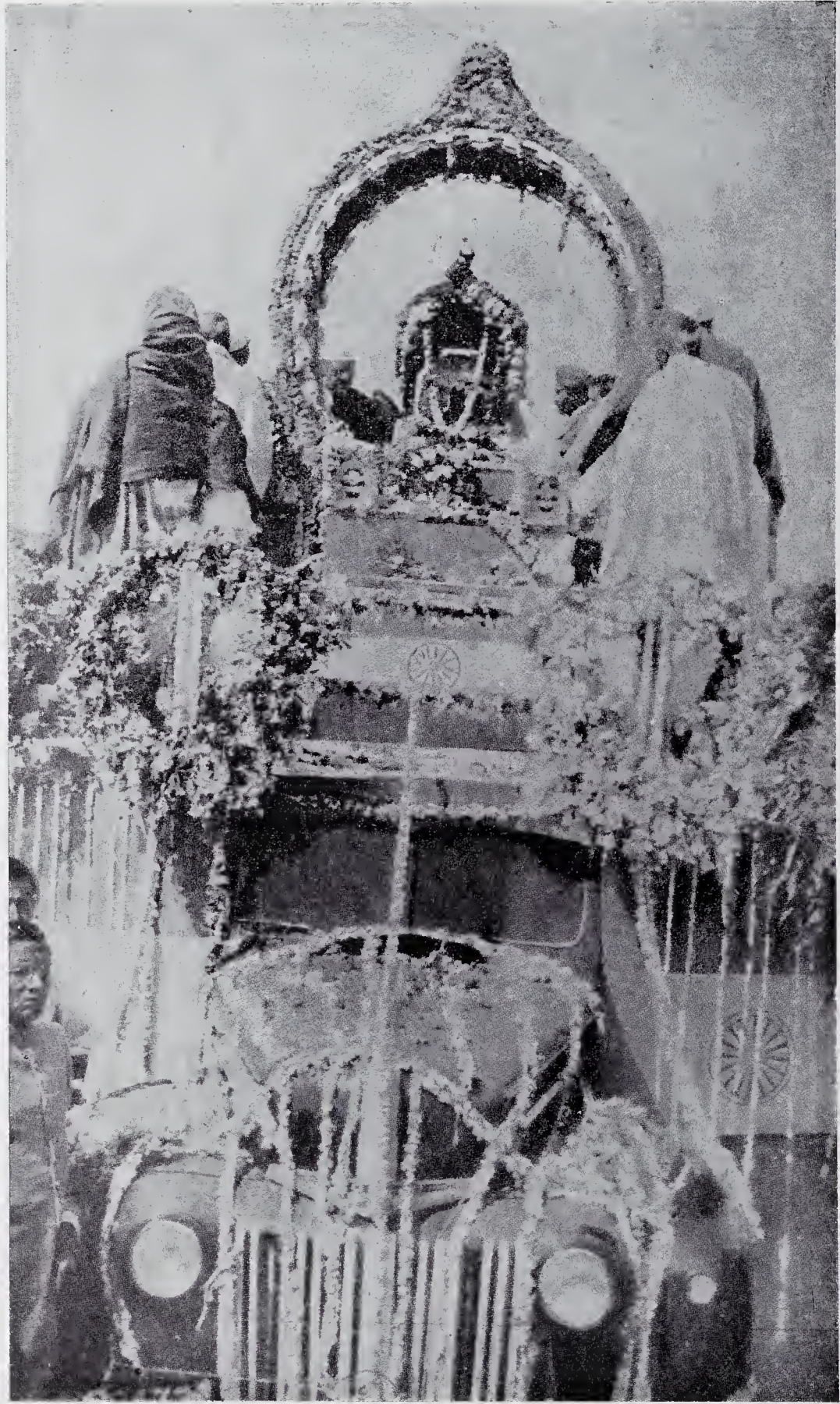


251.

Urns with the ashes of Mahatma Gandhi, to be immersed in India's rivers.
 भारतवर्ष की सभी नदियों में प्रवाहित की जाने वाली भस्म से भरे हुये पात्र ।



252. 12th February 1948: The ashes being taken by special train from Delhi to Allahabad.
 १२ फरवरी १९४८ अस्थि भष्मको दिल्ली से स्पेशल ट्रेन द्वारा इलाहाबाद ले जाया जा रहा है ।



253. At Allahabad: The "rath" (chariot) bearing the urn to the sacred Sangam while millions bow in reverence.

इलाहाबाद में : चिताभाम से परिपूर्ण कलश को रथ पर रखकर पवित्र संगम पर ले जाया जा रहा है और लाखों जनता श्रद्धा से नतमस्तक खड़ी है ।



254. Bereft.

शोकसन्तप्त ।



255. The solemn moment before the ashes were poured into the water at Sangam, Allahabad. Ramdas Gandhi is holding the brass urn. With him are Devadas Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and others.

त्रिवेणी, प्रयाग में भस्म प्रवाह से पहले । रामदास गान्धी पीतल के कलस में महात्माजी की भस्म लिए, उनके साथ देवदास गान्धी, पं० नेहरू तथा अन्य लोग :



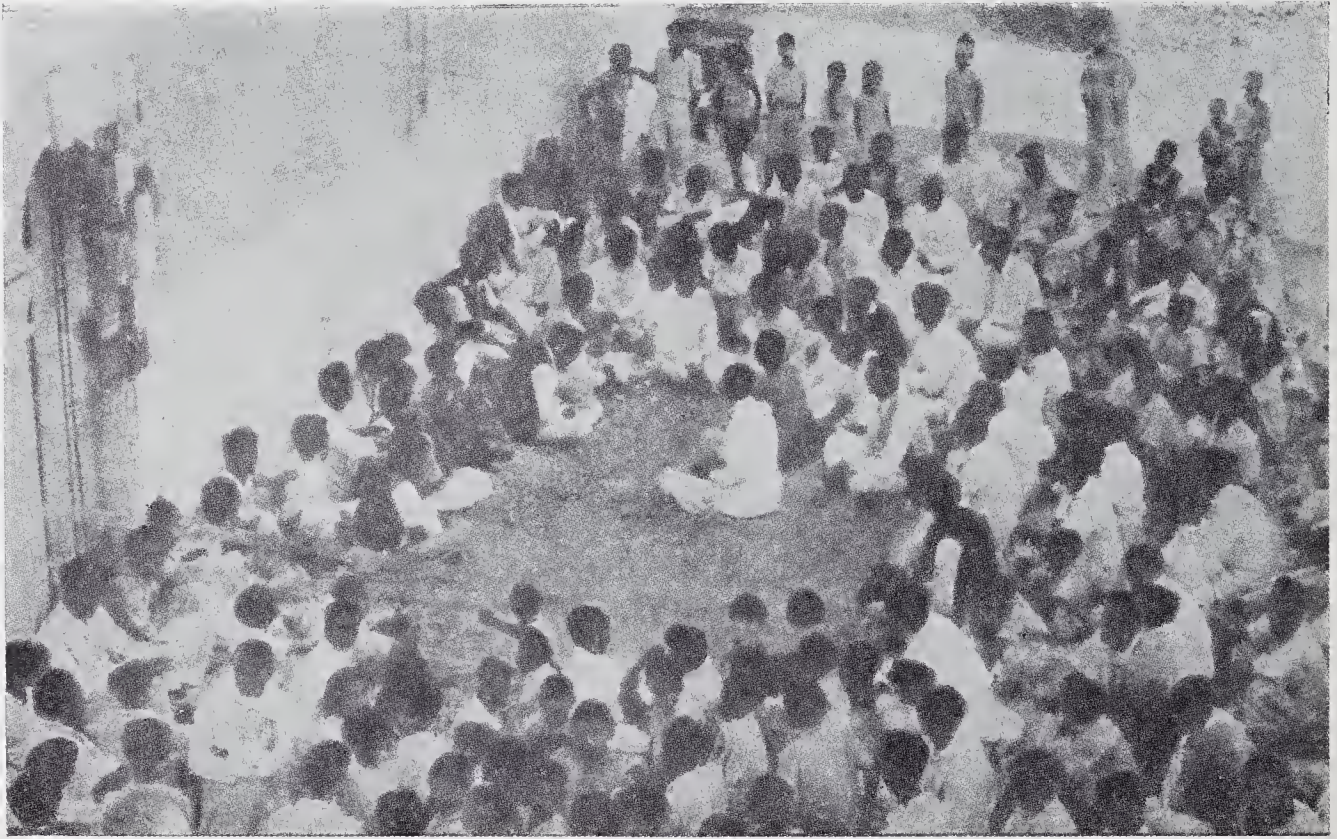
256. Immersion of the ashes at the Sangam.

इलाहाबाद में भस्म प्रवाह ।



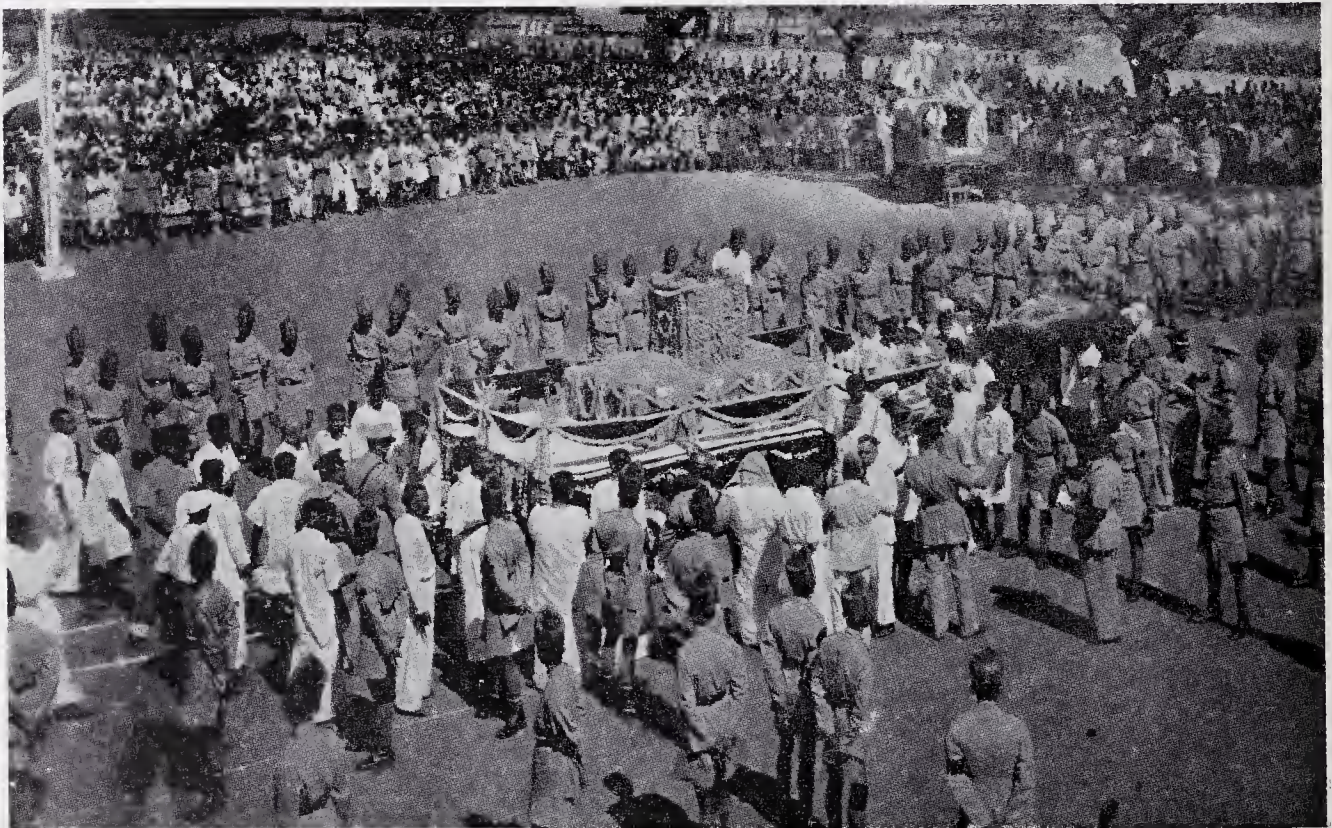
257. After the immersion at Allahabad: The Prime Minister of the Indian Union and a close co-worker of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru speaking to the people of India and of the world.

प्रयाग में भस्म विसर्जन के बाद : महात्मा गान्धी के अन्यतम सहकारी तथा भारत के प्रधान मंत्री पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू भारत तथा विश्व की जनता के नाम सन्देश दे रहे हैं ।



258. Mourning at his birthplace at Porbandar.

उनके जन्मस्थान पोरबन्दर में शोक ।



259. Mourning procession at Madras.

मद्रास में शोक ।



260. Barefooted procession of orphans.

बापू के वियोग में अनाथ बच्चे नंगे पैर !



261. At Delhi: Minister N. V. Gadgil addressing the people at the spot where the Mahatma was cremated.

दिल्ली में : जहाँ महात्मा गान्धी का दाह संस्कार हुआ था उस जगह श्री एन. वी. गाडगिल जनता के बीच भाषण दे रहे हैं ।



262-263. Mourning millions in Calcutta.

कलकत्ते के शोक संतप्त लाखों नागरिक ।





264.

Bengal Governor H. E. C. Rajagopalachari paying homage.

बंगाल के गवर्नर श्री राजगोपालाचारी श्रद्धा प्रकाश कर रहे हैं।



265.

The immersion of Gandhiji's earthly remains in the sacred waters at Barrackpore.

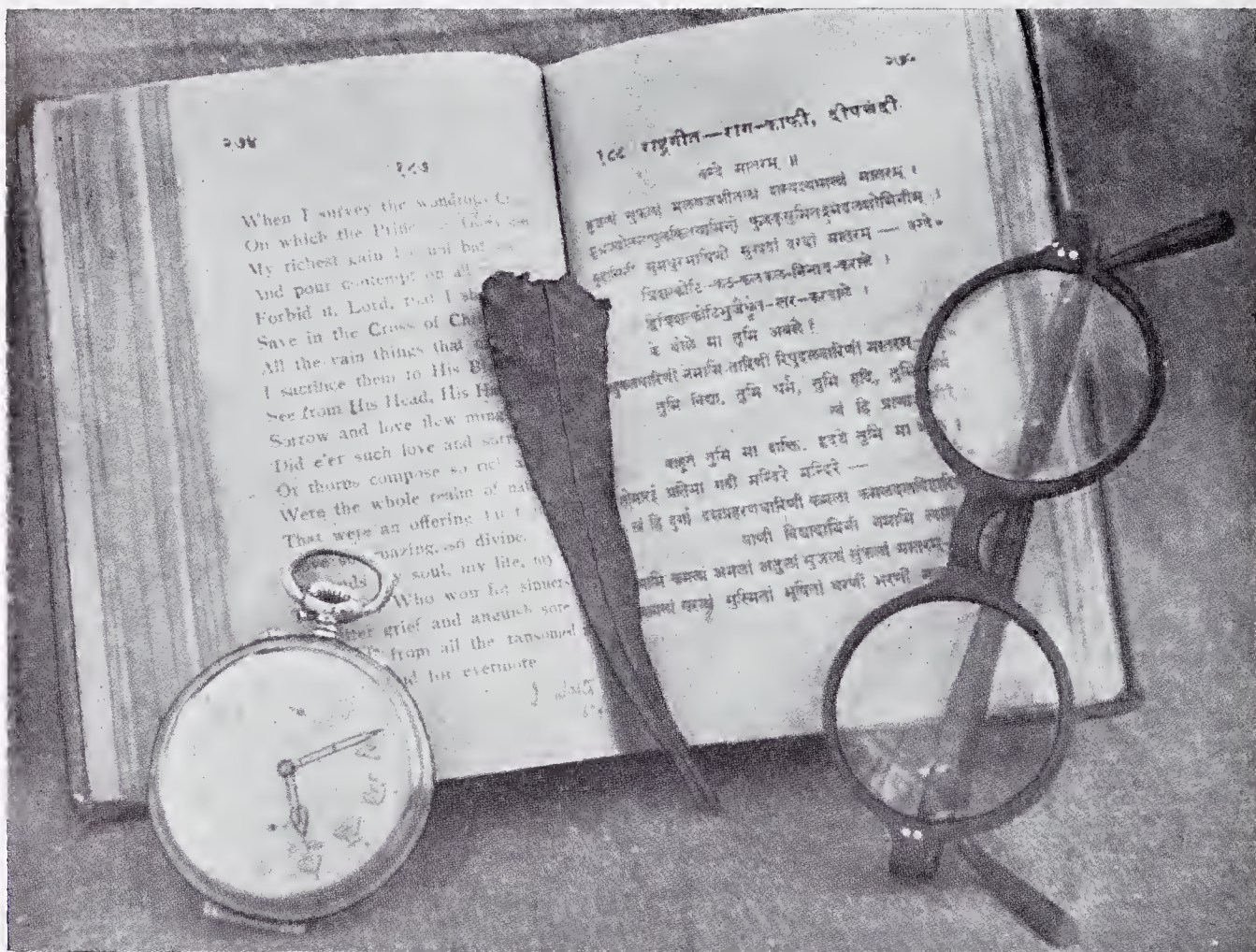
बैरकपुर में पवित्र भागीरथी नदी में महात्मा गांधी की चिताभस्म का जल-प्रवाह ।



266. The place where the body of the Mahatma was cremated is to-day a place of pilgrimage.
 वह स्थान जहां महात्मा गांधी का दाह संस्कार हुआ, एक तीर्थ स्थान बन गया है।



267. The three wise "gurus" (teachers) of the Mahatma orphaned.
 महात्मा के तीन समाधि गुरु।



268-269.

Relics of the Nation.

राष्ट्र अमूल्य रत्न ।



LIFE AND WORK OF MAHATMA GANDHI

“A leader of his people, unsupported by any outward authority; a politician whose success rests not upon craft nor mastery of technical devices, but simply on the convincing power of his personality; a victorious fighter who has always scorned the use of force; a man of wisdom and humility, armed with resolve and inflexible consistency, who has devoted all his strength to the uplifting of his people and the betterment of their lot; a man who has confronted the brutality of Europe with the dignity of the simple human being, and thus at all times has risen superior. Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth.”

This tribute paid by Albert Einstein while Mahatma Gandhi was alive assesses the personality of the great soul who during his lifetime and after stirred the hearts of hundreds of millions as few have done in the annals of the history of the World.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born at Porbandar (Sudamapuri), Kathiawad, on October 2, 1869, the family belonging to the bania (merchant) class. His father was Karamchand (alias Kaba) Gandhi, and Mohandas was the youngest among a daughter and three sons born to Karamchand Gandhi's fourth wife. Mohandas's forebears had long been connected with the administration of Kathiawad States, and for some generations the Gandhis had been Prime Ministers in one or other of those States.

The family pride was proverbial. The story is told that on one occasion State intrigues had obliged his grandfather, who was Prime Minister of Porbandar, to seek refuge in a neighbouring State. There he saluted the Ruler with his left hand. Asked to explain this seeming discourtesy he replied that his right hand had been pledged to Porbandar; his loyalty to the latter State had been unshaken.

Though Karamchand Gandhi was of too independent a spirit to make the best, in the worldly sense, of his opportunities, yet he rose to distinction in the administrative world, being ultimately Diwan of Rajkot and Wankaner. He had little academic education but gathered much practical knowledge and wisdom and was highly respected for his intelligence.

Mohandas studied for five years in a primary school at Porbandar and when Karamchand Gandhi took up service as a Judge at Rajkot, he joined Kathiawad High School from where he matriculated in 1887. According to himself, he was only a mediocre student. He was studious by temperament, but disliked intensely the games and physical exercises which were enforced on all students. In later utterances he had accepted the view that the cultivation of health and strength was a valuable element in all education, even for those who were to make their careers by their brains.

In High School he learned with difficulty a little Sanskrit, and afterwards he was always glad of the effort made, as it enabled him to study some of the Hindu scriptures. He declared that all Indian children should be taught Hindi, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and English.

He was married to Kasturba, the daughter of a merchant, in 1883, when both were only thirteen. Mahatma Gandhi wrote later: "I can see no moral argument in support of such a preposterously early marriage".

While in his fourth standard, Mohandas was led astray by one of his associates whom he tried to reform, in spite of warnings from his mother and elders. Through the influence of that friend and without the knowledge of his parents, he began to eat meat and became fond of smoking, but he abjured them a little later.

When 15 he stole a piece of gold but confessed to his father in writing, with a request for adequate punishment and pledging never to steal again. When his father read the letter, tears trickled down his cheeks. Mohandas also shed tears on seeing his father's agony. "Those pearl drops of love cleansed my heart and washed my sin away . . . This was for me an object lesson in ahimsa."

When Mohandas was 16 his father died. In his sickbed his father used to discuss with Parsi and Muslim friends about their faiths. Mohandas, nursing him, listened to these discussions and developed toleration for all faiths.

He was also greatly influenced by his mother, a deeply religious woman and very strict in the performance of religious duties. Intelligent and well informed, she possessed a strong personality and her simple piety, deep devotion and frequent fasts made an abiding impression on her son's mind.

As a young boy he was afraid of ghosts and his nurse told him to chant Ramanama to drive them away; later he used to hear Ramayana being read out by learned men to select gatherings and thereby acquired a deep faith in Rama.

Even in his school days he had never told a lie. A street play of Harischandra, a king who would rather lose a kingdom, his queen and prince than tell a lie, influenced him much and he then instinctively assured himself that it was not a story but something which had actually happened. Always to speak Truth therefore became a living faith with him.

When 18 he joined Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, Kathiawad. Finding studies difficult, he returned home in a few months. The future looked gloomy, even with the family's reputation for good public service at his back. So friends persuaded his mother to send the boy to England to read for the Bar as legal career promised a bright future. His mother after extracting from Mohandas a promise that he would not touch wine and meat, or associate with women, agreed to his going. The community, however, outcast him for daring to go against orthodox conventions, but undaunted Mohandas sailed for England in 1888, leaving at home his wife and a son a few months old.

His legal studies in England were exacting, but he found time for social interests of a quiet sort, learned Latin and French, tried to learn dancing and the violin, bought a dress suit, and did numerous other things in his endeavour to feel at home in English life.

But soon he realized the uselessness of this striving and began to bring a complete change in his life.

He kept account of every farthing he spent, which habit helped him later to handle huge public funds correctly. He read many books on how to live simply and practised them; he began to live on 1s. 3d. a day, cooking his own food and saving bus fare by walking long distances.

He attempted his first public speech at a gathering of vegetarians in London in 1890, but failed miserably. He could not even read the text of the speech he had memorised. Later, however, he gradually picked up courage to speak. In a few years he had become one of the most arresting speakers of the world.

He met leading theosophists including Madame Blavatsky and Mrs. Annie Besant, through whom he developed an interest in Indian ancient literature. He also turned his attention to Christianity. He was much moved by the Sermon on the Mount, with its insurances on returning good for evil. He read the Gita in Sanskrit and was greatly impressed by its teachings. Later it became a daily routine to sing it at his prayers. He attended the funeral of Bradlaugh, the atheist.

Reading of the Gita gave him also the true meaning of the words Non-possession and Equality, and increasing introspection resulted in his giving over all he possessed to the national cause. He took a vow that henceforth all his savings would be utilized for the benefit of the community.

He was called to the Bar “after nine months’ intensive reading” on 10th June, 1891, and two days later sailed for India, conscious of his ignorance of law and dubious about his ability to find work. While he was in England he received the sad news of his mother’s death. Back in India he set up practice at Bombay and Rajkot, the latter with some success, but its atmosphere of intrigue choked him. Then came an invitation from a Porbandar firm of merchants, which had a branch in South Africa, to go out to that country to help in an important law suit, covering many thousands of pounds, in which the firm was engaged. He took the chance and sailed in April, 1893.

This was the turning point in his career. He had planned to remain in South Africa for one year but actually stayed there for twenty years with only an occasional short visit to his own land. Almost immediately on his arrival in Natal political consciousness was awakened in him by a series of humiliating shocks. On the day after his arrival there, he attended the magistrate’s court at Durban, and was ordered to remove his head dress. Rather than do so he left the court room. A few days later he was travelling by train to Pretoria and although he had a first-class ticket, he was ejected by force from the compartment; and on that part of the journey which in those days was completed by coach, he was forced to sit outside with the driver.

The case on which he had come to work dragged on at Pretoria for months. Mohandas Gandhi’s clients were Muslims, and it was at this time that he first took a serious interest in the Muslim faith. He read the Koran in translation and the sayings of Zarathustra. At the same time the followers of several Christian sects in Pretoria attempted to convert him to Christianity.

At length, largely through the personal efforts of Mohandas Gandhi, the protracted law suit was settled out of court by arbitration.

He returned to Durban intending to sail for home. While in Pretoria he had made a study of the wrongs done to the Indian community in South Africa and addressed meetings on the subject. At a farewell party given for him in Durban, someone pushed into his hand a Natal newspaper, where he read a report that the Natal Government was about to take away the Indian franchise. At the urgent insistence of his friends, he agreed to stay on temporarily in South Africa to fight the measure. That same night, he drew up a petition which was soon presented to the Natal Legislative Assembly. This was the first parliamentary petition ever presented by Indians in South Africa. It aroused great enthusiasm and support among the Indian community. A memorandum with 10,000 signatures was sent to Lord Ripon, then Colonial Secretary.

Mohandas Gandhi now wished to return home, but his compatriots begged him to stay and lead them. He consented, but refused the salary they offered him. It was arranged that he should take the legal work of big Indian firms in the country and thus support himself.

Thus he became involved in the political affairs of South Africa. As he afterwards said : “ God laid the foundation of my life in South Africa and sowed the seed of the fight for national self-respect.”

After taking the decision to stay on, he started without delay the work of organization. On May 22nd, 1894, he founded the Natal Indian Congress. He also initiated a drive to raise the standards of cleanliness, sanitation, housing and education among the Indians of Natal. As a barrister he practised at the Supreme Court of Natal, and professionally and in public life he fought the cause of his people.

In 1896, he went on a six months' holiday to India, and while there delivered a number of speeches at public meetings on Indian conditions in Natal, and also wrote a pamphlet which had a wide circulation. He then met Congress and other Indian leaders.

News of these activities roused the anger of Natal European nationals and those of Durban decided to prevent Mohandas Gandhi and his family, and the 800 other Indian passengers on his boat and another steamer, from setting foot on Natal soil. The Government held the steamers in quarantine for 23 days, and efforts were made to induce the steamship company to send them back to India. This having failed, the passengers had to be allowed to disembark. Mohandas Gandhi was mobbed and the same day a crowd stormed the house where he was staying, but he was removed to safety by a ruse of the police. Though the Colonial Secretary offered to prosecute the assailants, Mohandas Gandhi refused saying that if they came to know the truth they would be ashamed of their conduct.

He studied literature on how to nurse mothers in childbirth and attend on delivery cases, and served in 1898 as a midwife to his wife at the birth of the last baby. It was at this time that he took the vow of Brahmacharya and began to strive for self-control.

In his South African years he became the acknowledged and trusted leader of the

Indian settlers. He influenced them in more ways than political. They followed him as ambulance bearers in the Boer War and the Zulu Campaign of 1906. They followed him when he established the Phoenix Settlement near Durban, an ashram where they were to live in piety and ascetic simplicity. He also found them with him when he advocated passive resistance, an untrodden path of resistance then, against the fingerprint regulation. The struggle that followed lasted for years, provoked riots and racial bitterness and did great damage. The Indians suffered, but they won, for their determined opposition had support of the public in Britain, and authority in South Africa had to give way.

After the Boer War, Mohandas Gandhi returned to India and set up practice in Bombay. He attended the All-India Congress in Calcutta, where he moved a resolution on the situation in South Africa. But the stay was only to be for a few months. The South African Indians implored him to return to take up their battle once more. He agreed and returning to South Africa started a paper in Natal to voice Indian grievances, calling it "Indian Opinion." He himself resided in Johannesburg, the focal point of the Transvaal Indians.

He was, as has been said, the prime author of the agitation against the fingerprints law, which proposing to control the movements of Indians into the Transvaal, made compulsory the registration of the fingerprints of every Indian adult. In September, 1906, a momentous mass meeting of Indians was held in Johannesburg, when 3,000 Indians took an oath to resist the "Black Act," as it was dubbed, to the last, but by non-violent means. The Indian passive resistance weapon was then forged.

Mohandas Gandhi had no name for this new movement, and offered a prize in "Indian Opinion" for a suitable name. The word "Sadagraha" was chosen and Mohandas Gandhi altered it to "Satyagraha" the force born of Truth and Love.

The struggle against the "Black Act" went on. Mohandas Gandhi led a deputation to England to interview the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Act was passed. Very few Indians came forward to register. A number of arrests were made, including Mohandas Gandhi himself. Eventually the latter reached a compromise with General Smuts, by which, if the majority of Indians registered voluntarily, the Act would be repealed. Understanding compromise, but not on essentials, was always his strong point. But this compromise bitterly disappointed many of Mohandas Gandhi's followers. A section felt that he had betrayed them, and there was therefore strong resentment.

General Smuts not carrying out his side of the agreement, the struggle was resumed. A new Act was passed prohibiting "Asiatics" from entering the Transvaal, and at the same time another blow fell on the Indian community. A judgment in the South African Supreme Court ruled that only Christian marriages registered by the Registrar were legally valid in South Africa. A fresh wave of indignation swept the Indian community. Under Mohandas Gandhi's leadership, Indians in the Transvaal courted imprisonment as a protest.

Then the indentured labourers in the coal mines of Natal came out on strike against the £3 tax which they were forced to pay at the end of their terms of indenture. Mohandas Gandhi led the strikers in a great march into the Transvaal and he and his

helpers were arrested. He was taken to prison in Bloemfontein. The treatment accorded the strikers so outraged feeling in India that the then Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, strongly condemned the action of the South African Government.

It was then that General Smuts was obliged to act. A commission was appointed to inquire into the whole matter, and Mohandas Gandhi and the other leaders were unconditionally released. At length the famous Gandhi-Smuts agreement was reached, and took form in the Indian Relief Act, which abolished the principal grievances. This was the victorious culmination of Mohandas Gandhi's first period of public work, in which he had shown the world the immense possibilities of the new weapon—Satyagraha.

It was at his ashram (community living) in Johannesburg in 1913 that he went on his first fast, a penitential fast for one week, for the moral lapse of two inmates of the settlement. Again in 1914 he underwent a second fast for a fortnight for a similar reason. During 1910 he became acquainted with Tolstoy through correspondence and since then they became ardent admirers of each other.

In January 1915 he returned to India, believing that his work in Africa had been done, that others could carry it on with success, and that the personal development he had sought all through life was to be best obtained in his own country with whose age-old ideals his spirit was naturally in sympathy. It was soon to be seen that his 20 years of exile had not made him less an Indian. His return was made by way of England. World War I was declared on August 4, and he reached London on August 6. He already had the South African medal, and against the advice of some of his Indian friends he decided at once that "Britain's need should not be turned into our opportunity," and that it was "more becoming and far-sighted not to press our demands while the war lasts." He called for volunteers for ambulance work, and meeting with a good response offered the services of 80 volunteers to the Government who accepted and enrolled them together as a corps. The Commanding Officer and Mohandas Gandhi had very different ideas of military discipline, and satyagraha made its appearance in the corps. Mohandas Gandhi himself, however, was soon incapacitated by pleurisy, and after treatment in Netley Hospital was repatriated to India on medical advice. In the New Year he was conferred Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal by the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge.

He approached India, he had said, in the ardent hope of merging himself in Gokhale's fold, and thereby feeling free. But fate willed it otherwise. His first task was to renew acquaintance with men and conditions in India, while thinking out the course his life should take in pursuing the mission that was clearly forming in his mind. In South Africa he had laboured and suffered for his people against one set of evils. But in India he saw the enemy as a civilization—that kind of civilization that would enslave and dominate India's mind and make India untrue to itself and its function in the world were it not resisted. How he would have worked with Gokhale we may only surmise, for a few weeks after his return to India Gokhale died.

For several months Mohandas Gandhi extensively toured in India mixing with all classes of people. He travelled always as a third class passenger, trying to understand and sharing the hardships of the poor.

The war years were spent in what may be called an apprenticeship in the work to come. Many Indians recognized his importance, but few Europeans knew anything of what he was doing in India. They were aware of what he had done in South Africa, and thought (if they thought at all about it) that he was still there. It was at this time that poet Rabindranath Tagore began to call him the Mahatma. On May 25, 1915 he established the Satyagraha Ashram at Ahmedabad known as the Sabarmati Ashram, whose inmates took the vows of truth, non-violence, celibacy, control of the palate, non-thieving, non-possession, use of Indian goods and Khaddar, fearlessness, removal of untouchability, and education through local languages. All lived as one family, having a common kitchen.

In 1916 he attended, along with Mr. Jinnah, the Congress session at Lucknow. In the same year he led an agitation for the abolition of emigration of indentured Indian labour to other parts of the Empire. The Government agreed in principle but did nothing. Mahatma Gandhi toured the country stirring up an all-India agitation. The agitation was successful; the indenture system was abolished.

He then went to Champaran to help the peasants oppressed under the system of indigo growing. He had to face bitter hostility from the landlords, but he conducted the struggle to a victorious conclusion by means of peaceful satyagraha. "Hence it was," in his own words, "that this age-long abuse came to an end in a few months."

This struggle brought him face to face with India's greatest problem—the poverty and backwardness of the villages; and from that time onwards his mind became increasingly occupied with the regeneration of the peasant.

From Champaran he passed to Kheda to aid the peasants there in their revolt against the Government assessment of their crops after a bad harvest. The struggle ended in an unsatisfactory compromise. But Mahatma Gandhi was now a force in India. The Viceroy invited him to attend the War Conference at Delhi in order to gain his support for recruitment of Indian volunteers for service overseas. To the surprise of many, the Mahatma offered his support, and went himself to conduct the recruiting campaign in Kheda. He met with very indifferent success, and then fell seriously ill with dysentery and seemed to be near death. During convalescence he learned to spin on charkha.

While in South Africa, he had taken a vow not to drink milk, owing to the cruelties practised on cows in dairies. During this illness his wife and the doctor persuaded him to take instead goat's milk which he continued to take after his recovery.

On March 12, 1918, he underwent his first fast in India for the misdeeds of some textile mill strikers at Ahmedabad.

The first post-war years were dominated in India by two events—the introduction of the Montague-Chelmsford political reforms and Mahatma Gandhi's influence over the Indian National Congress with its consequent insistence on Swaraj (complete independence). In 1919 a decisive step was taken. Hindus and Muslims under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali brothers were brought to a united front by a common battle cry—the treatment of Turkey by the Allied Powers. It was proclaimed that the position of Islam was menaced by the Allies and that the Khilafat must be protected against them. This looked like religious agitation, but was mainly a well-thought out political move

uniting Hindus as well as Muslims, and even, curiously enough, Shias as well as Sunnis. The fusion of interests thus created was for some years the keystone of Indian politics. The Rowlatt Acts, the triple boycotts and hartals, (closure of business houses and shops and suspension of all trade), the Punjab troubles, then followed.

The first great civil disobedience campaign was against the Rowlatt Act. It started with an all-India hartal of unprecedented success when the police resorted to largescale arrests, firing and lathi charge in Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar. The temper of the people grew out of control in some places, and in contradiction to Satyagraha principles, outbreaks of violence occurred culminating in the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy in Amritsar. Martial law was declared in the Punjab, where Mahatma Gandhi had been refused admittance. While the Mahatma condemned the highhandedness and repression of the Government in no uncertain terms, he criticised the people for resorting to violence in their fight against Government. In April 1919 he undertook a fast at Sabarmati as a sequel to disturbances at Nadiad. Both the Congress and the Muslim League conferences were held in Amritsar in 1919 and the Mahatma was dominant in the former, influential in the latter. Non-co-operation followed, endorsed by the Congress session in Calcutta in September, 1920.

In May 1920, the Hunter Committee report on charges of repression during the Punjab Martial Law regime during 1919 was published, and it caused bitter disappointment in the entire country. The Mahatma also was profoundly shocked, and that was the turning point in his career in India, changing him from a staunch co-operator to a non-co-operator.

At the same time peace conditions imposed on defeated Turkey were also announced, and they were considered by the public as disgraceful. An all-India agitation was planned. Mahatma Gandhi announced that the non-co-operation campaign would be preceded by fasting and prayer on July 31, 1920. That day his "greatest bulwark" Tilak died. On August 1 the Mahatma surrendered to the Viceroy his Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal and the Boer War medal.

In the special Congress session in Calcutta in September, Mahatma Gandhi included the Swaraj demand in the main resolution. From this time onwards Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress became synonymous terms. He gave the Congress its flag with its three colours, saffron, white and green with the sign of the Charka in the middle. He asked for a crore of rupees as Tilak Swaraj Fund to conduct the campaign. It was soon oversubscribed.

Feeling against all forms of the routine of the bureaucratic administration was growing. Mahatma Gandhi attacked the organized system of education under the universities and turned his attention to national education, to the cult of the spinning wheel and the use of Khaddar : spinning became the sine qua non of members of the Congress. He also started a campaign against the liquor trade, the removal of untouchability and the boycott of foreign goods. In October 1919 he had taken up the editorship of the *Young India*, an English weekly, and used its columns to propagate his ideas.

The boycott of foreign cloth was an important feature of the campaign which led, then and later, to many public clashes with the police. The great bonfire of foreign cloth

which Mahatma Gandhi had organized as a counter-demonstration on the arrival of the Prince of Wales in Bombay proved the occasion of an outbreak of violence, and resulted in Mahatma's fasting again for five days (November 19-23, 1921). Gradually the Government began arresting important leaders. The Bombay riots were followed by murder and arson at Chauri Chaura near Gorakhpur. Mahatma Gandhi had been preparing for a "peaceful revolution" by mass disobedience in Bombay province. But he felt that the masses had not imbibed the spirit of his teaching as he himself wished: disobedience had meant violence and blood shed, and he revoked his own instructions. Swaraj would come naturally if the people were ripe for it; in his opinion they were not ripe, and failure was imminent. This apparent change of front in the leader checked the movement, and during the resulting confusion and hesitation the Government stepped in and arrested Mahatma Gandhi, who had retired to his ashram at Bardoli to do penance by fasting (February 1922). This was the first occasion that he was arrested in India. He forbade hartal and demonstration on his arrest and appealed to the people to carry out the constructive programme and stiffen the civil disobedience movement.

At his trial at Ahmedabad, he made a great speech defending the Satyagraha movement and his own principles. He was sentenced to six years' imprisonment on a charge of sedition. He served the sentence in Yervada Jail, Poona, until January 1924, when he fell ill. He was removed to Poona Hospital and operated upon for appendicitis and thereafter unconditionally released. He had barely recovered when he undertook another fast at Delhi for 21 days (September 18, 1924), as a protest against the increasing conflict between the Muslim and Hindu communities. During his period in jail he dictated his autobiography "My experiments with truth" in Gujarati.

He devoted himself to three tasks that he saw to be prerequisite to any attempt to assert India's freedom. These were the establishment of friendly relations and complete understanding between Hindus and Muslims; cure of the poverty of the masses by reviving cottage industries, which implied a fight against the excessive use of manufactured and especially foreign commodities; and the abolition of untouchability, a cause that had been dear to his heart almost from boyhood. Subsidiary interests were his opposition to alcohol and drugs as degrading to men, and the emancipation of women.

On November 24, 1925, he undertook another fast at Sabarmati Ashram for the errors of some of the inmates. He presided over the Congress at Belgaum in December, 1924. His was the shortest presidential address on record. In it he insisted on Khaddar.

In November, 1927, Lord Irwin invited Mahatma Gandhi and other political leaders to see him. At the interview the Viceroy placed in Mahatma Gandhi's hands the proposed announcement of the Simon Commission the contents of which disappointed him greatly. The commission was to inquire into the fitness of the people for an increased share in the Government. In December the Congress passed at its annual session its goal as complete National Independence. In February, 1928, the Commission arrived in India and there was nationwide hartal and black-flag demonstrations. The Government met these with force and arrested many leaders. In 1929 Mahatma Gandhi was invited to Europe, but he declined on the ground that he could not be away from India when his people wanted his leadership badly.

In December 1929, at Mahatma Gandhi's instance the annual Congress session passed a resolution in Lahore that his offer to accept Dominion Status had lapsed and thereafter "Swaraj in the Congress creed shall mean complete Independence."

Earlier in May, 1929 the Conservative Government was replaced by a Labour Government in Britain. Lord Irwin reiterated in October the goal of British policy in India as one of progressive realization of responsible government within the British Empire. He also announced H.M.G.'s intention to hold a Round Table Conference in London shortly.

In February, 1930, the Congress Working Committee meeting at Sabarmati decided on civil disobedience for the purpose of achieving complete independence. After the decision was taken Mahatma Gandhi informed the members of his plans for breaking the salt law. He argued that natural salt, like air and water, was public property and hence should not be taxed as even the poorest was affected. Immediately before beginning the campaign the Mahatma wrote to Lord Irwin pleading to "find a way out", but the Viceroy regretted his inability to do so. On March 12 with a band of followers he set out on the historic march to Dandi to break the law.

All along the 200-mile route the people gave the party an enthusiastic reception and recruits joined it in large numbers. Many village officers resigned to take part in the movement. On April 6 the Mahatma broke the law by picking salt on the seashore. The entire country responded and the law was broken in hundreds of places. The march attracted the attention of the entire world. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and many other leaders were arrested. In Peshawar and Madras the military opened fire, causing many deaths. The Mahatma was soon after arrested.

His arrest led to countrywide demonstrations and hartal. Picketing of liquor shops was done with vigour. Firing was resorted to in many places, and scores of Government servants resigned as a protest against the repressive measures of the Government. Before the year was out the Viceroy had to resort to the issue of twelve Ordinances. The total figure of convictions exceeded a hundred thousand, out of whom 12,000 were Muslims.

In November, 1930 the Round Table Conference met in London without Congress representation. It ended its deliberation in January, 1931 with the British Premier's declaration defining H.M.G.'s policy of grant of self-government in stages. At the same time Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders were released from jail. The Mahatma interviewed the Viceroy a fortnight later. The Congress Working Committee invested Mahatma Gandhi with full authority. In early March, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed whereby the movement of boycott of foreign goods was to cease, though propaganda for indigenous goods was allowed. Peaceful picketing of shops selling liquor and foreign merchandise was recognized as legal; all organized defiance of laws were to cease, and all ordinances were to be withdrawn. There was to be a general amnesty, and the right of picking up and manufacturing salt for their use was conceded to people living on the sea coast.

Mahatma Gandhi was appointed by the Working Committee as its sole representative in the Round Table Conference. In April 1931 Lord Irwin left and he was succeeded as Viceroy by Lord Willingdon. The Mahatma met Lord Willingdon and complained to him about non-observance of the truce terms, for which the Viceroy gave assurances. But

soon instances of violations grew. As a protest the Mahatma cancelled his passage to London to attend the second R.T.C. The Viceroy invited him to Simla for talks, when again assurances were given to Mahatma Gandhi. The Mahatma left with his party for London a fortnight later. At Aden, Cairo and Marseilles the local public gave him enthusiastic receptions.

In London he stayed at Kingsley Hall in the East End with Miss Muriel Lester. Hundreds of men, women and particularly children used to flock there to have his 'darshan' (view). At the R.T.C. he declared: "I would love to go away with the conviction that there is to be an honourable and equal partnership between Britain and India." During a session of the Minorities Committee he warned that he would resist with his life separate elections for the Depressed Classes. The conference ended on December 1 and Mahatma Gandhi proposed the vote of thanks.

While in England he was met by representatives of many classes and creeds, and he visited workers' establishments. He particularly visited Manchester, the centre of the textile trade and spoke to the workers. The King and Queen received him at Buckingham Palace. He met Bernard Shaw, Lloyd George, Arthur Henderson, Harold Laski, the Archbishop of Canterbury and many other prominent men. He had pressing invitations from America, France, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Italy, Palestine, Egypt, Hungary, Denmark and Ireland, but could not accept them. On his way back he was in Paris for a day, stayed with Romain Rolland in Switzerland for a few days and visited Rome.

On December 28 he landed in Bombay. A few days earlier, the U.P. Congress had declared a no-rent campaign. Ordinance rule had been instituted in the Frontier, the U.P. and Bengal. Pandit Nehru, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and many other leaders had been arrested. During ten months in 1930-31 nearly a hundred thousand persons had been imprisoned.

On December 29, Mahatma Gandhi sought an interview with the Viceroy, which was refused. At midnight on December 31 the Congress Working Committee authorized the Mahatma to renew Satyagraha. The Government's offensive started on January 4. All Congress organizations were banned. The Mahatma was again arrested, and detained in Yeravada Central Jail, Poona. His ashram properties were confiscated. Most of the leading Congressmen were by now in jail. There was intensive boycott and picketing and hartal. The Government answered with punitive and collective fines, lathi charges and in some places firing.

In August British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald's communal award, giving separate electorates for the Depressed Classes was announced. Mahatma Gandhi pleaded in vain for withdrawal of the award and finding no response started on September 20 a "perpetual fast unto death from food of any kind and taking only water with or without salt and soda." In the course of the next few days leaders of all communities met and on September 24 signed a pact in jail, the Depressed Classes forgoing the right of separate electorates, subject to important safeguards to be conceded by Caste Hindus.

Yet Mahatma Gandhi continued the fast, but he entered the danger zone in the next few days. Appeals were issued by Hindu and Depressed Class bodies all over India to the British Prime Minister to intervene so that the Mahatma could end the fast.

The pact was in a few days accepted by the British Government enabling the Mahatma to break the fast, and gave great relief to the country. The cause of the Depressed Classes had always been dear to the Mahatma's heart. Earlier in 1929 he had started the Harijan (Son of God) Sevak Sangh to uplift them, and "Harijan" weekly was started in English and Gujarati to serve the cause of the Depressed Classes and to give them a forum to ventilate their grievances.

The Poona Pact was not without repercussions in other fields. What the Hindus and Depressed Classes could do, it was thought, could also be achieved by Hindus and Muslims, and a Unity Conference in which many Hindu and Muslim leaders joined took place at Allahabad in November, 1929, but without much result. That same month the Government announced its decision to extend the facilities already enjoyed by Mahatma Gandhi for carrying on, while in jail, propaganda against untouchability.

In the meanwhile, there had been open hardening of orthodox opinion against further concessions to Harijans, and the Mahatma found it necessary to threaten to fast to death if Caste Hindus hesitated over giving effect to the Poona Pact. He warned: "There can be no rest for me or those who by word of mouth or show of hands silently endorsed the 'Poona Pact' resolution, until untouchability becomes a thing of the past."

The third Round Table Conference was followed by the publication of the White Paper and slackening of the civil disobedience movement. On May 8, 1933 the Mahatma announced that "for reasons wholly unconnected with Government and solely connected with the Harijan movement, and in obedience to a peremptory call from within" he had started on a three weeks' fast. A week later the Government released him. On being set at liberty he issued a statement suggesting that the acting Congress President should suspend civil disobedience for six weeks, although he reaffirmed his faith in it; he also appealed to the Government to release political prisoners.

The suspension of civil disobedience was extended for another six weeks. The question of what was to happen with the campaign afterwards was, however, urgent. In July, he attended a conference of Congress leaders who authorised him to seek an interview with the Viceroy for the purpose of "exploring the possibilities of peace"; as civil disobedience had not been called off, the request for an interview was refused. Mass civil disobedience was suspended and individual civil disobedience was allowed. All Congress organizations ceased to exist for the time being. The Mahatma dissolved the Sabarmati Ashram near Ahmedabad and announced a march to some villages with the purpose of urging people to start individual civil disobedience. The upshot was his arrest and sentence to a year's imprisonment.

On August 16 in prison, he started another fast, complaining against lack of facilities for carrying on anti-untouchability work; on the 23rd he was released when his health was considered to be precarious. He said he would not consider himself as free to embark on civil disobedience till termination of the period of the sentence. He devoted the period to furtherance of Harijan cause. At the end of the year he undertook an anti-untouchability tour through most of the provinces. He collected over a million rupees for the Harijan Fund.

He had now made his headquarters in the village of Sevagram, near Wardha, and

the place, almost unknown to the rest of India, was now to become one of the best known places in the country. At this village he established his ashram. At Wardha on several occasions the Congress Working Committee assembled so that it might be near the Mahatma when his advice was needed.

Now Congressmen were increasingly swinging round to the view that the Congress must cease to boycott the Legislative Assembly, the general election for which was soon to be held: and at a meeting at Delhi attended by a number of Congress leaders, it was decided to revive the All-India Swaraj Party and to contest the election "to reject the White Paper". Two days later Mahatma Gandhi advised suspension of civil disobedience for Swaraj as distinguished from specific grievances. In a statement he said:

"After much searching of heart I have arrived at the conclusion that in the present circumstances only one, and that myself and no other, should for the time being bear the responsibility of civil resistance if it is to succeed as a means of achieving Purna Swaraj. I feel that the masses have not received the full message of satyagraha owing to its adulteration of the process of transmission. It has become clear to me that spiritual instruments suffer in their potency when their use is taught through non-spiritual media." He went on to claim for Satyagraha that it was the greatest weapon at the disposal of mankind, a complete substitute for violence or war. It covered much more than civil resistance. "It means a relentless search for truth and the power that such a search gives to the searcher."

"What are the civil resisters thus freed to do if they are to be ready for the call whenever it comes? They must learn the art and the beauty of self-denial and voluntary poverty. They must engage themselves in nation-building activities, the spread of khaddar through personal hand spinning and hand-weaving, the spread of communal unity of hearts by irreproachable personal conduct towards one another in every walk of life; the banishing of untouchability in every shape or form in one's own person; the spread of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks and drugs by personal contact with individual addicts and by cultivating personal purity."

This, he concluded, was advice to those who looked to him for guidance in matters of Satyagraha: he was not, he said, usurping the function of the Congress. Magnificent as these ethical ideals were, that body was still in search of a concrete policy. The lifting of the ban on Congress organisations heralded the advent of more normal days, and the Congress Parliamentary Board, a product of the Delhi meeting described above, was active in preparing to fight the election. The rise of the Socialist group to importance in Congress politics also occupied much space in the newspapers. Mahatma Gandhi welcomed it but did not like its programme since to him it seemed to ignore Indian conditions: he did not feel that there was necessarily such antagonism between labour and capitalists that they could never work together for their mutual good.

The election resulted in a large Congress and a smaller Congress Nationalist Party appearing as the official Opposition in the Legislative Assembly. The sponsors of the Delhi meeting had hoped for Mahatma Gandhi's benevolent neutrality and their wish to contest the elections had encountered no opposition from him.

In January 1934 a violent earthquake in North Bihar followed by flood caused

enormous havoc to life and property. Mahatma Gandhi immediately rushed there and touring village after village by foot rendered enormous help to the sufferers. He later resumed his Harijan work.

In Poona on June 25, an unknown and yet untraced person attempted to throw a bomb at the Mahatma during a public function when the Poona Municipality presented him an address. The unsuccessful assassin mistook some other car for the Mahatma's, which arrived later. Many persons were injured in the bomb incident. A fortnight later an irate reformer attacked with a lathi a determined opponent of the Harijan movement. The Mahatma fasted for seven days as penance for this show of intolerance between opponents.

Under the Mahatma's inspiration and guidance, the All-India Village Industries Association was formed in October 1934 to help revive and give a fillip to cottage industries.

Towards the end of the year, at the Bombay session of the Congress, he resigned from the Congress and ceased even to be a four-anna member. This was caused by his realization that the Congress was not wedded to truth and non-violence. At the session the Mahatma's amendment to the Congress constitution as fighting "through truthful and non-violent means" had been thrown out in favour of "peaceful and legitimate means". He threw himself with redoubled zeal and vigour in the campaign for revival and development of village industries, Harijan uplift and education through basic crafts.

Always an experimenter in simple and natural food, in early 1935, he wrote some articles in "Harijan" on "Green leaves and their good value", "All about rice", "Cow's milk versus buffalo's", etc. He said: "The addition of green leaves to their meals will enable the villagers to avoid many diseases from which they are now suffering", and revealed that for five months he had been living entirely on uncooked foods and found improvement in his health.

Throughout 1935 the Mahatma was busy with his work for Harijans and village industries. At times he seemed to his medical advisers to be over-working himself, and in December his health gave cause for alarm but his strong constitution served him well. During this year he acted as arbitrator in the dispute between the Ahmedabad millowners and their workers.

In September 1936 he laid down in "Harijan" the implications and conditions of the success of non-violence in the following terms:

- (1) Non-violence is the law of the human race and is infinitely greater than and superior to brute force.
- (2) In the last resort it does not avail to those who do not possess faith in the God of love.
- (3) Non-violence affords the fullest protection to one's self-respect and sense of honour, but not always to possession of land or movable property, though its habitual practice does prove a better bulwark than the possession of armed men to defend them. Non-violence in the very nature of things is of no assistance in the defence of ill-gotten gains and immoral acts.

- (4) Individuals or nations who would practice non-violence must be prepared to sacrifice (nations to the last men) their all except honour. It is therefore inconsistent with the possession of other people's countries, that is, modern imperialism, which is frankly based on force for its defence.
- (5) Non-violence is a power which can be wielded equally by all children, young men and women or grown-up people, provided they have a living faith in the God of Love and have therefore equal love for all mankind. When non-violence is accepted as the law of life it must pervade the whole being and not be applied to isolated acts.
- (6) It is a profound error to suppose that whilst the law is good enough for individuals it is not for masses of mankind.

In January 1936 Miss Margaret Sanger, exponent of the birth control movement, visited him at Wardha. He told her: "If one can drive home to women's minds the truth that they are free, we will have no birth control problem in India." He always advocated self-control and abstinence and was against the use of contraceptives. He held that the husband and wife should share the bed only when they were sure they wanted a child and condemned living together simply for deriving carnal pleasure.

When the Gandhi Seva Sangh, whose aim was to serve the masses in all possible ways, was started he said: "There is no such thing as Gandhism; and I do not want to leave any sect after me."

The Mahatma's interest in education also was great. Presiding over the All-India Literary Conference in Nagpur in April 1936 he said: "If I had the power I should taboo all literature calculated to promote communalism, fanaticism and hatred between individuals and classes or races." At another place he said: "I want art and literature that can speak to the millions; our literature now is a miserable affair."

An enthusiastic supporter of Hindustani as the 'lingua franca' of the country, he once said: "It is the language of our peasants and our labourers, which can be easily understood that can become the 'lingua franca'. That will be true democracy in the domain of language." He was the prime mover in the campaign for starting basic education through the medium of handicrafts.

In February 1937 he wrote to his former South African colleague, H. S. L. Polak, that if Dominion Status with the right to secede from the British Empire was offered, he for one would not object.

February elections to the provincial legislatures under the new 1935 Act resulted in overwhelming victory for the Congress. It obtained a majority in six provinces and in three others its party was the largest. Hence control over eight provinces came to Congressmen. The Mahatma then wrote: "I can see a vast opportunity is at the disposal of the Ministers in terms of the Congress objective of complete independence, if they are only honest, selfless, industrious, vigilant and solicitous for the true welfare of the starving millions." He suggested as urgent reforms prohibition, relief to peasants, basic education and turning of jails into reformatories.

Through articles in Harijan and public statements he criticised the Congress Ministries

whenever they went wrong. He condemned use of force by them in labour disputes and communal riots and he was against their resort to ordinance rule. He was dissatisfied with the progress of the prohibition programme of the Congress Ministries. "Prohibition in the Congress provinces is not going in the spirit in which it was conceived. Our freedom will be the freedom of slaves if we combine to be victims of the drink and drug habit."

Towards the end of the summer of 1937, he had a meeting at New Delhi with the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, who had succeeded Lord Willingdon in April 1936. The Viceroy had written to the Mahatma saying that he was anxious to make his personal acquaintance and the latter had replied that the interview would be doubly welcome. When the meeting took place in the Viceroy's House, they discussed the question of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, of Mahatma Gandhi visiting the North-West Frontier Province and improvement of the rural population's conditions.

The last week of October found Mahatma Gandhi in Calcutta, where the All-India Congress Committee was meeting. There he was taken ill, his blood pressure rising suddenly, and his departure to Wardha had to be postponed. Despite his weakness, he was actively interesting himself in the future of Bengal's detenus who constituted a problem that had been agitating the province for years. He met the Ministers, and early in November he was driven in a car out to Barrackpore, where in a pavilion by the riverside he had a talk, lasting two hours, with the then Governor of Bengal, Sir John Anderson, and later a Minister in H. M. G.'s cabinet. The talk was confined to relief for political prisoners and detenus. Further meetings with the Bengal Ministers were held, and in the third week of November the Government announced that it was to release immediately 1,100 detenus, subject only to their communicating any change of address. A communique recalled that it was Government's policy to make progressive release as the situation improved. Mahatma Gandhi assured the Government that he would do his best to improve the political situation in Bengal by preaching his cult of non-violence and creating public opinion in favour of it. He had offered to meet detenus with the object of persuading them not to resort to or assist terrorism or other subversive activities. He had also agreed to interview individual detenus among the remaining 450 and the Government hoped to grant an immediate release to those in respect of whom Mahatma Gandhi could give assurances.

After a month's stay at Juhu beach, Bombay, where he had been convalescing he returned to Sevagram in January 1938. Though still suffering from blood pressure, he took up the problem of the prisoners in the Andamans Penal Settlement. Lord Lothian, later Britain's Ambassador to Washington, met him at Sevagram and stayed with him for three days.

In October in regard to the forced acceptance by the Czechoslovaks of the Munich Pact, he wrote: "Unarmed men, women and children offering non-violent resistance without any bitterness in them will be novel experience for them . . . I present Dr. Benes with a weapon not of the weak but of the brave."

About the Munich Pact itself he said: "The peace Europe has gained is a triumph of violence; it is also its defeat I suggest that if it is brave, as it is, to die to a man fighting against odds, it is braver still to refuse to fight and yet to refuse to yield to the usurpers."

In November he wrote: "My sympathies are all with the Jews If I were a Jew and were born in Germany and earned my livelihood there, I would claim Germany as my home even as the tallest Gentile German may, and challenge him to shoot me or cast me in the dungeon. I would refuse to be expelled or to submit to discriminating treatment."

When a member of the Japanese Parliament visited him towards the end of the year he told him : " I do not subscribe to the doctrine of Asia for the Asiatics, if it is meant as an anti-European combination...it has to re-learn the message of the Buddha and deliver it to the world. I have no message to give you except this, that you must be true to your ancient heritage."

In March 1939, the Mahatma undertook yet another "fast unto death" in Rajkot State to induce the ruler to fulfil his solemn undertaking to his people that he would grant political reforms. He broke the fast a few days later at the intervention of the Viceroy who suggested arbitration by the Chief Justice of India, Sir Maurice Gwyer, whose award was in favour of the Mahatma. Later however the Mahatma expressed regret for his conduct in Rajkot which he felt was coercive, apologised to the Viceroy, the ruler and the people concerned and released the ruler from the application of the award.

In July he addressed an open letter to Hitler appealing to him to desist from plunging the world into war. In early August the Congress Working Committee met at Wardha and anticipating the coming conflagration said: "In this world crisis, the sympathies of the Working Committee are entirely with the people who stand for democracy and freedom and the Congress has repeatedly condemned fascist aggression in Europe, Africa and the Far East...The Congress has further enunciated its policy in the event of war and declared its determination to oppose all attempts to impose a war on India."

Soon after Britain's declaration of war against Germany the Mahatma was invited by Lord Linlithgow to Simla. After the meeting Mahatma Gandhi said : "I have returned from the Viceregal Lodge empty-handed and without any understanding. If there is to be any understanding, it would be between the Congress and the Government...I told His Excellency that my own sympathies were with England."

The Working Committee met at Wardha again between September 8 and 15, to which Mr. Jinnah was invited, but he declined. The Committee said : "The Congress has further laid down that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people." The Mahatma's comment was : "I am sorry to find myself alone in thinking that whatever support was to be given to the British should be given unconditionally...All that is now required is a mental revolution on the part of British statesmen."

The attitude of the Congress was bitterly attacked in a debate in the House of Lords and the Mahatma on reading a report of the proceedings said : "As a friend of the British I appeal to English statesmen to forget the old language of imperialists and open a new chapter."

When in October the Viceroy announced H. M. G.'s policy that till the end of war constitutional changes could not be considered, Mahatma Gandhi commented : "The Viceregal declaration is profoundly disappointing...The Congress will have to go into wilderness again before it becomes strong and is sure to reach its objectives. The Congress

asked for bread and it has got a stone." The Congress Ministries in eight provinces resigned in November.

Mahatma Gandhi interviewed the Viceroy again in February, 1940, but came out saying : "I see no prospect of a peaceful settlement."

In June France fell. The Working Committee offered to join a provisional national government, join the war effort, defend India's shores against external aggression and keep internal order, provided Britain acknowledged India's right for independence and set up a National Government in the Provinces and at the Centre. It also absolved Mahatma Gandhi from responsibility for the programme and activity which the Congress had to pursue in regard to meeting external aggression and maintaining internal order.

Once more Mahatma Gandhi met the Viceroy in Simla in July after which he issued his famous appeal "to every Briton" to accept the method of non-violence to defeat the enemy. At the instance of C. Rajagopalachari, now Governor-General of India, the Working Committee meeting in Delhi a little later repudiated the weapon of non-violence against foreign aggression. Mahatma Gandhi commented : "The resolution represents the considered policy of the Congress. Non-Congressmen who were eager to be free of my religious bias and to adopt a purely political attitude should welcome the resolution and support it wholeheartedly." He did not attend for some time thereafter meetings of the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee.

In August the Viceroy offered to give some seats to Congressmen on his Executive Council, which the Congress rejected. The Working Committee again invited Mahatma Gandhi to lead it and pledged him its loyalty. Mahatma Gandhi said : "I do not want England to be humiliated... They who are themselves in peril cannot save others...but the virtue of restraint cannot be carried to the extent of self-extinction...extinction of the national spirit, wherever it may reside, whether among Congressmen or non-Congressmen. Freedom of speech and corresponding action is the breath of democratic life. Freedom of propagating non-violence as a substitute for war is most relevant when indecent savagery is being perpetrated by the warring nations."

After meeting the Viceroy in September he declared : "The immediate issue is the right to exist, which, broadly put, means free speech. If the Congress has to die it should do so in the act of proclaiming its faith."

With the approval of the Congress, he launched a campaign of individual satyagraha to win freedom of speech. The movement soon took momentum and spread throughout the country. Many leaders including Pandit Nehru were arrested. The Mahatma suspended the satyagraha during the period December 25 to January 4, 1941, as a gesture of goodwill during Christmas.

In December the Government released all the imprisoned leaders, but Mahatma Gandhi said : "As far as I am concerned, the action cannot evoke a single responsive or appreciative chord in me" since no other positive action was forthcoming.

Towards the close of the year, after Pearl Harbour, the Congress relieved Mahatma Gandhi, at his own request, of leadership of the Congress owing to fundamental difference over interpretation of the term 'non-violence,' but again in January 1942 invited him to

lead the organization on his own terms. It was at this time that he named Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as his political successor.

In February he met Marshal and Madame Chiang Kaishek at Calcutta when they had come to India for consultations and had a long and cordial talk with them.

Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of H. M. G.'s Government, came to India in March 1942 with an offer to India, which did not make the Mahatma or the Congress enthusiastic since Sir Stafford had said : "The defence of India will not be in India's hands even if all parties want it." The Cabinet which Sir Stafford Cripps suggested was rejected by the Congress as only a glorified edition of the existing Executive Council.

In July, the Working Committee drafted the famous "Quit India" resolution and appealed to Mahatma Gandhi to lead and guide the country in case of a struggle. It was now made clear that, while Mahatma Gandhi had previously demanded immediate withdrawal of all Allied troops from India, he had now changed his mind on the question and allowed the forces to remain in the country, though at the same time he insisted on immediate abdication of British rule. On August 2, 1942, the Mahatma quoted with approval Congress President Maulana Azad's statement that he had no objection to Britain handing over power to the Muslim League or any other party, provided it was real independence.

On August 8 at Bombay, the All-India Congress Committee endorsed the "Quit India" resolution. Mahatma Gandhi in his address said that he would send a letter to the Viceroy before taking concrete action in the shape of a struggle. But in the early hours of August 9, he and the members of the Working Committee were arrested. Congress Committees were declared illegal and drastic restrictions were imposed on the Press regarding publication of Congress news. On the news of the arrest of the Mahatma and Congress leaders, there were spontaneous demonstrations and closure of business establishments all over India, which the Government met with force. This led to violence on the part of the agitated people and consequent increased repression by the Government.

On February 10, 1943, Mahatma Gandhi began another fast "according to capacity" at the Aga Khan's palace, Poona, as a protest against the Government's refusal to repudiate their charges against him relating to responsibility for the 1942 disturbances.

The Viceroy accused him of having given his moral support to the violent disturbances, but the Mahatma repudiated it saying that the Government's leonine violence was the cause of the upheaval.

In a letter to the Home Secretary he wrote "In spite of all that has been said to the contrary, I claim that the Congress policy remains unequivocally non-violent."

During the second week of the fast the Mahatma's condition became critical and he was given up for lost. Meetings were held in thousands of places in the country demanding the immediate release unconditionally of Mahatma Gandhi. All non-party leaders met in Delhi and demanded that the Mahatma's life should be saved. The Mahatma emerged safe through the critical period and after the prescribed time (21 days) he broke his fast.

In May 1944 non-party leaders demanded that the Government should set up an

impartial tribunal to try Mahatma Gandhi and the other leaders for the responsibility for the violent disturbances in August 1942 or to release them. The Government rejected the demand.

Tragedy entered the Mahatma's life on 22nd February 1944, when the death occurred of his wife, Kasturba, a devoted mother and loyal helpmate. She took an active part in the South Africa satyagraha and suffered imprisonment, as also in the non-co-operation and civil disobedience movements of 1930-32, when she was again imprisoned. She was the head of the Women's Section of the Satyagraha Ashram. Earlier in August 1942, he had lost during detention his devoted comrade and secretary, Mahadev Desai.

Soon after, the Mahatma had a severe attack of malaria, and in May 1944 he was the first of the Congress leaders to be released. There had been a long exchange of correspondence, subsequently published in June 1944, between him and the Viceroy wherein respective viewpoints were explained.

During detention, the Mahatma was greatly perturbed by the great famine in Bengal, and appealed to the Viceroy to accept the help of the country's leaders to handle the situation and give relief to the affected. Immediately after release, he toured the province and rendered help to the sufferers.

When his health was restored Mahatma Gandhi invited Mr. Jinnah to meet him in Bombay in September to end the communal deadlock. Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula of self-determination for Muslims in areas where they were in a majority formed the basis of the talks, which however, broke down. The Mahatma went into retirement, advising Congressmen outside jail to concentrate on constructive work. In the summer of 1945, all members of the Congress Working Committee were set free to enable the Congress to consider a new proposal, known as the Wavell Plan, by the Viceroy. A conference to consider the scheme ended in failure.

Meanwhile, the Labour Party had come into power in Britain, and the new Government lifted the ban on the Congress in the various Indian provinces, ordered general elections in India and summoned Lord Wavell to London for consultations. On his return the Viceroy made a declaration reiterating British determination to confer full self-government on India. The Congress and the Muslim League had overwhelming victories at the polls.

In March 1946 Mr. Attlee, announcing that a Cabinet Mission was to visit India, said that India would be free to shape her own destiny.

The Mission consisting of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander, arrived in India in March, bringing the British offer of independence to India. Mahatma Gandhi played an important role throughout the talks and negotiations as adviser to the Cabinet Mission and the Congress leaders.

On May 16, 1946, the Mission announced their plan for the future constitution of India.

The Great Calcutta Calamity took place after 16th August followed by disturbances in Noakhali (East Bengal). The Mahatma, greatly affected, set out on a long walking tour of the Noakhali district in January 1947 to bring about a change of heart among the

local population. Subsequently in March 1947, he visited Bihar where a communal outbreak had also occurred and forced the Government to give relief to the affected localities.

On February 20, 1947 the historic announcement was made in London that India was to be free by June 1948. On June 3 came the equally momentous announcement that the Government had changed their plans and the division of the country and the transfer of power was to take place on August 15, 1947.

Mahatma visited Kashmir in July 1947 and returned to Calcutta in August. Communal tension had remained tense throughout. When the British partition plan was announced, there were severe communal riots in the Punjab, tens of thousands dying on either side, millions worth of property plundered and looted. The Mahatma, who did not wish to participate in the celebrations of the birth of Independence (August 15) at Delhi, was in Calcutta on his way to Noakhali, where he said his peace mission remained incomplete. But when the communal disturbances in Calcutta could not be put down, he resorted on September 1 to another fast unto death which lasted for three days. It had a remarkable effect on the warring elements, for the trouble ceased almost overnight.

He returned to Delhi in September 1947 where also had been serious communal trouble, which stopped soon after his arrival. The invasion of Kashmir at the end of October 1947 brought fresh communal bitterness, and on January 13, 1948 the Mahatma undertook his seventeenth and last fast to bring about a change of heart among Muslims and Hindus. He broke his fast on January 18 on an assurance given by the Delhi Peace Committee that all his conditions for breaking the fast would be fulfilled. On January 20, a youth threw a bomb at the Mahatma's prayer meeting but no one was injured. Mahatma Gandhi, apostle of non-violence, fell on the evening of 30th January, 1948, from an assassin's bullet when he was on his way to conduct his usual prayers with the public. With folded hands (Hindu form of salutation) and with God's name on his lips, his great life came to a sudden end.

His life was devoted to the service of the Indian nation, service to humanity, service to all that are oppressed, weak and poor. The story of his life has become a part of the history of the country of his birth. In tributes paid to him by world leaders and the World Press, he was acknowledged as the greatest man since Jesus Christ and Lord Buddha. Few men have been held in such tender esteem, in such affection by the people in the long history of humanity.

